

Saturday May 11 1996

Abu Dhabi D 2.50, Albania L 2.50, Australia A 1.00, Bahrain B 0.25, Belgium L 1.70, Brazil B 1.20, Canada C 1.20, Czech Republic C 4.00, Denmark D 1.50, Finland F 1.50, France F 1.50, Germany G 1.50, Greece G 1.50, Hong Kong H 2.50, Iceland I 1.00, India I 1.00, Ireland I 1.00, Italy I 1.00, Japan J 1.00, Korea K 1.50, Kuwait K 1.50, Latvia L 1.50, Lithuania L 1.50, Luxembourg L 1.50, Malaysia M 1.50, Mexico M 1.50, Netherlands N 1.50, New Zealand N 1.50, Norway N 1.50, Oman O 1.00, Pakistan P 1.00, Portugal P 1.00, Qatar Q 1.00, Saudi Arabia S 1.00, Singapore S 1.00, South Africa S 1.00, Spain S 1.00, Sweden S 1.00, Switzerland S 1.00, Taiwan T 1.00, Thailand T 1.00, Turkey T 1.00, USA U 1.00, Zimbabwe Z 1.00

The Guardian

Printed in London, Manchester, Frankfurt and Roubaix

INTERNATIONAL
NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR
46,550

Norway gets serious about Eurovision

Nul points no more

Outlook Arts page 18

Interview

The lives and loves of a legend

Page 17

Tennis

Steffi Graf tumbles to Swiss teenager

Sport page 9

'We still believe in decency, hard work and fairness'

Blair defines British dream

Michael White
Political Editor

TONY Blair unveiled the centrepiece yesterday of Labour's campaign to end 17 years in the political wilderness when he accused the Thatcher and Major governments of creating an insecure majority among voters who would turn against them "with a vengeance".

Speaking in Swansea, the Labour leader contrasted the British dream with the world of job insecurity, higher taxes and fears of homelessness and crime in which most people now lived as a result of ministerial ideology and error.

"You still believe in the British dream. You still believe in British values, in decency, hard work, and fairness. You still long to do better for yourselves and your family and you long for Britain to do better too. You are proud to be British but too much of that pride depends on history and nostalgia and not on what Britain is today."

"It is Labour that offers the new British dream now. Labour that can build a new Britain that is fair, efficient, and can regain our standing in the world."

With one eye firmly on disenchanted middle class voters — and their wavering Conservative MPs — he even called New Labour the party of one nation radicals, capable of reuniting the country with a devolved democracy, an efficient economy and a reformed welfare state.

But Mr Blair's intention to launch a "lost generation" campaign next week to highlight the plight of jobless and unskilled people ran into fire from senior Conservatives seeking to exploit concern that the shadow chancellor, Gordon Brown, may decide to abolish child benefit for 16 to 18-year-olds, without recompense for needy families.

Visions

'The Germans have an image of organisation; Italy has one of flair. At the moment Britain does not have an image. We need to get an image again both as a nation and a football nation.'

Terry Venables

'I had a dream of Britain and it was that the Labour leader would stop colluding with bigoted military chiefs, who supports the ban on lesbians and gay men in the armed forces.'

Peter Tatchell

'I am glad that he is naming the lost generation but I think that we need to give them an entry point to tell us their dreams and disappointments.'

Susie Orbach

'I would like to see the word caring put into any dream of Britain. The divide is widening between those who have and those who have not.'

Max Clifford

'Streets filled with laughing, happy, frolicking scousers.'

John Peel

Tories to be "the party of the hard-working classes. We don't care if they have blue collars or blue blood."

Stirring what he undoubtedly saw as real discontent among Labour MPs over the child benefit scheme's potential impact on post-16 education, he challenged them to support Mr Brown's review publicly. Mr Blair did that unequivocally in Swansea.

With ministers like Mr Lilley using the Scottish Tory



Tony Blair unveils the "new British dream" at Labour's Welsh conference yesterday PHOTOGRAPH: GARETH LLEWELLYN WILLIAMS

conference in Aberdeen to test themes for the election, the Labour leader used his party's Welsh conference to do the same. He mocked John Major's prevarications over the Westminster council scandal as proof that a degenerate party governed Britain.

As ministers struggle to rekindle the feel-good factor, he argued that 17 years of Tory electoral success "was based on their willingness to tolerate an insecure minority."

But it is the majority that feels insecure today. "The electoral battlefield was portrayed as Labour for the poor and disadvantaged — against the Tories as the party of the secure and comfortable majority," Mr Blair said. "It has changed. It is Labour that now speaks up for the insecure majority and puts forward the policies that meet their concerns. And it is the Tories who speak only for the privileged few."

The Labour leader added: "It is today's thirtysomethings and fortysomethings that now fear both for their children and for their parents."

This week's Guardian/ICM poll, however, saw Labour's lead slip 4 per cent in the Liberal Democrats' direction, a move which Lib Dem strategists believe reflects emerging voter mistrust of Labour's rhetoric.

The post-16 child benefit row is a case in point. Yesterday Mr Blair stressed it was still only an option to see if the money could be better spent along with that spent on the assisted places scheme.

"Insufficient numbers of our young people stay on at school."

"There are large problems of youth unemployment. A lot of our young people are not getting properly skilled or educated," he said.

Notebook, page 22

Whoever wins the Cup, Wembley will make a killing



Phil Babb of Liverpool: winner's medal would earn bonus

John Duncan
Sport Correspondent

MANCHESTER United earn almost as much in gate money from their average Premiership match as they will from today's FA Cup final, the biggest match of the season.

The owners of Wembley stadium may make twice as much out of the match as either United or their opponents, Liverpool.

about £1 million, but players' win bonuses and hotel expenses eat heavily into that, leaving them with about £800,000 each.

Wembley also makes a profit of about £1.5 million. The Football Association's deal with Wembley, struck in the 1990s, allowed the company to make huge profits from FA events at the stadium through pitchside advertising, car parking, catering and the matchday programme.

From total gate receipts today Wembley will receive £940,000, to which is added its share of the £1 million TV money for the final — in 1995 that gave it £220,000. Add to that a share of the £480,000

matchday programme profits (£8 each, expected sales of 80,000), £28,000 in car park receipts (7,000 spaces at £4 each) and money from catering contracts, and Wembley will be about £1.5 million better off tomorrow morning.

Wembley admits that the Cup final is its biggest payday but argues that the money subsidises other games. "Not every event is a moneyspinner like this," said Martin Corrie, the Wembley spokesman, "but in order to hold other smaller events we need to get income from the bigger events. We have a contract with the FA which reflects a recent partnership agreement. How the money is

then allocated is their responsibility."

The FA is diplomatic over the Wembley deal. "You can't look at the Cup final in isolation from the other events," said Mark Day, FA director of finance. "The next day they have the Vase and they won't make a killing out of that. However, clearly, if we were doing a deal now rather than 15 years ago it would not be the same. No one could have foreseen the growth in TV money and sponsorship."

BBC's 'Best feet', page 5; Schenckel's accounting adviser, page 10; United in search of triumph, page 12; Vincent Hanna, page 17

Inside

Britain
Spring of Beethoven's best known themes may have been stolen from other obscure composers, according to one of Britain's leading conductors.

3

World News
As head of state, Jacques Chirac gives the impression of a satellite circling the political scene before ordering a change of course.

7

Finance
The FTSE 100 index rose 12 points to 4,212.50. The FTSE 250 index rose 15 points to 4,212.50.

22

Sport
Manchester United were expected to support Andy Cole for today's FA Cup Final. Ian Hirst is likely to be on the bench for Liverpool.

12

Comment 14; Letters 16; Obituaries 20; Outlook; Money Guardian 21; TV and Radio 2



Prague Writers' Festival 1996

This year the Prague Writers' Festival, directed by Michael March, will once again showcase a selection of fine authors from around the world. Meet them at the Viola Theatre, Narodni 7, (nearest metro Narodni) from May 9-11. For more details call: 44 171 7134133

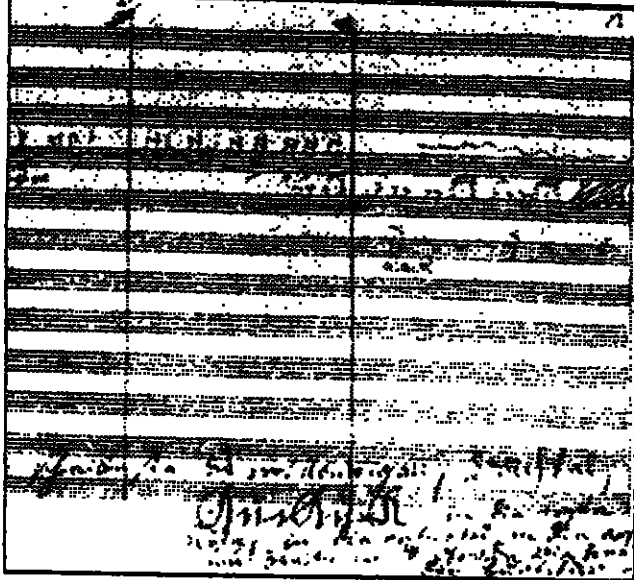
- Thursday May 9**
- Sylvia Fischerová - Czech Republic
 - Andrzej Sosnowski - Poland
 - Evelyn Schiag - Austria
 - Nuno Júdice - Portugal
- Friday May 10**
- Paul Durcan - Ireland
 - John F. Deane - Ireland
 - James Kelman - Scotland
 - R.S. Thomas - Wales

- Saturday May 11**
- Ewald Murrer - Czech Republic
 - Jim Barnes - USA
 - Abdullah al-Udhari - Yemen
 - Natan Zach - Israel

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Opening bars of the Fifth Symphony, stolen by Beethoven



Part of the Sixth Symphony, but whose was the theme?



Conductor John Eliot Gardiner, who claims Beethoven stole themes for political purposes



Beethoven: making sublime music from second-rate



Gossec: working a decade before Beethoven



Méhul: one of five French propagandists for Republic

Revolutionary theory shows Beethoven 'pinched' his famous tunes

Dan Glaister Arts Correspondent

THE opening notes to Beethoven's Fifth Symphony are among the most familiar bars of music to modern audiences. They may also have been familiar to 18th century audiences — even before the German composer wrote them.

Beethoven, according to John Eliot Gardiner, one of Britain's leading conductors, "pinched" many of his best-known themes from a group of obscure French revolutionary composers working in the decade before he produced his most famous symphonies.

The opening to the Fifth Symphony, the flute tune from the Pastoral and the chorus from the Seventh Symphony were not written by Beethoven, who died in 1827, the conductor claims. In tomorrow night's South Bank Show on ITV, Mr Gardiner, one of the foremost conductors of Beethoven, identifies five composers whose work was part of a trend of revolutionary propaganda music at the end of the 18th century, written to promote the cause of the new French Republic. The five, François-Joseph Gossec, Luigi Cherubini, Etienne-Nicolas Méhul, and Xavier Lefèvre are previously obscure, although the fifth, Rouget de Lisle, wrote the French national anthem.

"I think it is blatant pinching," Mr Gardiner said yesterday. "It is not straight pla-

giarism in the sense that Beethoven was trying to nick someone else's ideas. It was a coded political message and that was the obvious way he could do it without getting into trouble."

Mr Gardiner first encountered the possibility that Beethoven may have received inspiration from the music of the French Revolution when studying the work of a little-known 1920s German musicologist, Arnold Schmalz.

Mr Gardiner, together with musicologist David Charlton, took the theory a stage further and produced names and specific pieces of music that bear a startling resemblance to some of Beethoven's most famous works. "Beethoven's music, particularly with the words attached to it, would have been political dynamite," said Mr Gardiner. "It seemed that he wanted to convey his identity with the ideas of the French Revolution in a way that would be clear to the intellectuals in his audience without at the same time getting himself stuck into jail as a subversive."

Beethoven, in common with many artists and intellectuals at the end of the 18th century, had great sympathy with the ideas of the French Revolution. But his work had previously been thought to be divorced from politics.

"It shows that he was not an isolated genius, isolated from politics and musical events, composing in his garret," said Mr Gardiner. "He was very much a man of his time and extremely sus-



De Lisle, composer of the Marseillaise, during a rendition of one of his pieces promoting the cause of the French Revolution

ceptible to the intellectual stimulus of the French Revolution."

Nicholas Kenyon, controller of BBC Radio 3, said yesterday that many composers drew on the folk music or the well-known tunes of their day. "To some people that would be what makes their music so remarkable, in that they are able to draw on something that immediately makes a connection with the audience of the day and then make something extraordinary of it."

Hugh Canning, Sunday Times music critic, says the Baroque age was an orgy of plagiarism. "Bach's harpsichord concertos borrowed from Vivaldi's violin concertos. Gossec wrote music that has been attributed to Gluck, and Mozart takes from Handel's Requiem."

Perhaps questions of attribution belong to another, more modern age. "Originality is quite a new concept in classical music," said Classic CD magazine's Daniel Jaffe.

"It's something that's come about partly through romantic ideas about inspiration and originality, and is even more important nowadays that people are eager to get as much earnings from their own work as possible."

The chances of descendants of the five French composers receiving fat royalty cheques seem small. "It is interesting marginalia," said Mr Gardiner, "the debt that genius owes to the second rate. It's fascinating to me that music that's not really all that interesting can become sublime."

Leader comment, page 14

A maestro and a task-master with a bent for authenticity

JOHN Eliot Gardiner is, at the age of 53, one of Britain's top two conductors, writes Dan Glaister. His interpretations of Beethoven and Berlioz have brought him recognition as one of the great conductors of his generation. This summer, he is due to conduct Beethoven's opera, Fidelio, at the Proms.

Educated at Cambridge, where he read history, he became the youngest Proms conductor of his day at the age of 25. He has formed several ensembles, includ-

ing the Motet Choir and the English Baroque Soloists, recording Britten, Mozart, Purcell, Schubert and others. His current enthusiasm is for authenticity, with his London-based Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique dedicated to recreating the instrumentation and performance of classical music. "It stops the mindless reproduction of music of the past in an all-purpose style," he says.

The Guardian once referred to him as "the Karajan of period performance", and he confesses to having a "terrible reputation", reputed to rule his ensembles with merciless baton.

Two years ago he suggested that Beethoven's music was written with a faulty metronome.

Lloyds shuns Railtrack

Keith Harper Transport Editor

LLOYDS became the second large clearing bank to warn its richest investors that they would be taking risks in buying shares in Railtrack when it is privatised on May 20.

The bank has written to customers of Lloyds Private Banking, its private banking scheme, pointing out that because of "political concerns", Railtrack shares — priced at between 340p and 390p — "are unlikely to be a rewarding

long-term investment". Lloyds Private Banking said it would not be applying for shares for asset management clients. In the shorter term it did not envisage adding the shares to clients' portfolios.

The National Westminster Bank has already issued a similar warning. Lloyds later confirmed that some of its "more conservative customers" had been told by some managers of the problems of longer-term investment. A number of managers had acted in what they believed was the best interests of customers, the bank said.

The Government's 100 per

cent sell-off has been constructed with an eye on the next election. Short-term investors are guaranteed a 25 per cent return on shares by next March, but a change of government could affect Railtrack's long-term future, even though Labour has made it clear that it could not return it to the public sector immediately.

Clare Short, Labour's shadow transport secretary, said: "We want would-be investors to be aware of our plans. Some may be looking to ride the gravy train with Railtrack, as they did with other privatisations. But there are not going to be any cheap bucks for them this time. The banks have been privately concerned for months about the sale of British Rail's 25 passenger franchises, although the amounts of money involved are not very large. This latest news is not expected to affect the Railtrack sell-off materially. The Government is still confident of achieving a return of between £1.75 and £1.95 billion, but the doubts of two important clearing banks may turn off last-minute investors.

Gas chief's £100,000 'hello'

Simon Beavis Industrial Editor

BRITISH Gas was heading into fresh controversy last night when it emerged that it is to pay a £100,000 "golden hello" to a new senior director.

The chairman and chief executive, Richard Giordano, announced the group was recruiting David Varney, managing director of Shell UK, to head Transco International, one of two companies being created out of British Gas.

Mr Varney has been offered a salary of £385,000 a year plus a one-off bonus of £100,000 to compensate him for loss of benefits, including share options and enhanced pension entitlements, at Shell. He will become chief executive designate of Transco from June 1.

British Gas insisted the "golden hello" was strictly a one-off payment and would not be repeated in later years, as in two recent pay awards to new directors which infuriated City investors.

Mr Varney's appointment is the latest in a series of execu-

tive hirings from outside the company and means only two of its top 14 executive posts are filled by people with long service with British Gas. It marks an end to the tradition of directors rising through the ranks to take high office, including the former chief executive, Cedric Brown, whose 75 per cent pay increase to £491,000 a year ahead of retirement caused an outcry over executive pay within privatised industries.

Mr Giordano — who is paid £450,000 a year — said of the new appointments: "A vital task is all but accomplished. We will have the skills and experience to take these two new companies forward." The company had for some time been preoccupied with "managing the changes arising from market liberalisation and restructuring."

Mr Brown's departure was announced in February when British Gas revealed it was splitting into Transco International and British Gas Energy.

Transco includes the company's £18 billion network of gas pipes in the UK and the international exploration and production business.

British Gas Energy includes the UK supply business, the Morecambe Bay gas fields, and the huge liability for "take or pay" gas contracts — long-term commitments to buy high-priced gas which the company can no longer sell because its market has been eroded by competition. Roy Gardner, executive director operations for British Gas, will be Mr Varney's counterpart at British Gas Energy. His salary as chief executive designate will remain fixed at £320,000 a year.

Philip Rosinger, the director in charge of the demerger, is being made executive deputy chairman of British Gas and will have special responsibility for regulatory matters. His salary remains fixed at £305,000 a year.

The demerger is set to be achieved by next spring. But immediately the company faces a new problem, when on Monday, the Ofgas director-general, Clara Spittewoods, is expected to impose 10 per cent cuts in the prices charged by Transco, a move which the City believes will force the company to cut dividend payments this year.

Some of you will remember when Mystic Meg Thatcher told the Commonwealth: 'Anyone who thinks that the ANC is going to run South Africa is living in cloud cuckoo land' Vincent Hanna

Outlook page 17

4 DAYS TO GO

NOON WEDNESDAY 15 MAY APPLICATION DEADLINE

There's still time to apply. Completed application forms must be in by Noon on Wednesday 15 May. Prospectuses containing application forms are available from branches of The Royal Bank of Scotland and from main Post Offices.



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News in brief

Teenage girl faces murder charge

A 16-year-old girl appeared before magistrates yesterday charged with a murder committed when she was 12. She is alleged to have murdered Katie Rackliff, aged 18, a hairdresser, as she walked home from Ragamuffins nightclub in Camberley, Surrey, on June 7, 1992.

Labour nominees for Dearing

A POLITICAL truce over higher education was established yesterday when the Government appointed Labour nominees to Sir Ron Dearing's committee of inquiry into the future of universities.

Britain's top soccer thug dies

BRITAIN'S No. 1 soccer thug, Paul Scarratt — jailed 13 times and convicted 40 times for football violence — has died in a Spanish hospital. The 40-year-old collapsed after a heavy drinking session with friends in Barcelona and was rushed to hospital.

New evidence in killing

FRESH alibi evidence could have established the innocence of a man convicted of murdering his girlfriend's parents, the Court of Appeal ruled yesterday. It said there were other doubts about the evidence which had rendered a guilty verdict unsafe.

Britain faces green challenge

THE European Commission is being challenged in the European Court to reveal details of confidential deals with United Kingdom, Ireland and other EU states which kept them from being prosecuted for breaches of environmental law.

Gas phobia woman loses

A DOG breeder with a phobia for gas faces a huge legal bill after losing a High Court case to stop a pipeline being opened up beneath her home.

Committee on standards turns to local government penalties in wake of Westminster scandal

Nolan reviews surcharges

James Melkie, Community Affairs Editor

THE Nolan committee on standards in public life is to investigate the system of surcharging councillors and local government officers in the wake of the £31.7 million penalty imposed on Dame Shirley Porter and five others in Westminster for gerrymandering.

Dame Shirley and others accused by district auditor John Magill are expected to appeal to the High Court against his findings of misconduct and the surcharges he imposed. She complained that the system, introduced by the Thatcher government in 1982, involved Mr Magill being "prosecutor, judge and jury".

review of the general processes involved in investigations like this one... "Any review would need to weigh carefully the balance between the public interest in seeing such cases dealt with as expeditiously as possible and the need to ensure that all the parties concerned are treated fairly."

Stalker bill lost as Eubank case is heard

Owen Bowcott

A PRIVATE member's bill designed to outlaw stalking was yesterday killed off by the Home Office on the day the wife of the boxer, Chris Eubank, obtained an injunction against an intruder.

The coincidence heightened the row over the demise of the measure introduced by Janet Anderson, Labour MP for Rossendale and Darwen. Though the Government yesterday promised a law to curb stalking, it gave no date for its introduction.

In the case brought by Karon Eubank, aged 30, a judge at Brighton county court ordered a man to stay away from the couple's home.

The temporary injunction was granted against Russell Bennett, aged 30. He had been found on the roof of the couple's home in Hove, East Sussex, wearing the ex-champion's boxing shorts and trainers, just after midnight on Tuesday. Mrs Eubank, who is pregnant, pressed a panic button to alert police after spotting him when the security alarm went off.



Obtained injunction... Karon Eubank and husband Chris. She was 'terrified' by an intruder. PHOTOGRAPH BY PIONA HANSON

Catalogue of obsessions leading to convictions

- In the first case of its kind brought against a stalker, Anthony Burstow, a former Navy officer, was jailed in March for three years on charges of inflicting grievous bodily harm through psychiatric damage. He hounded Tracy Sant for three years, breaking into her home, sending her a soiled sanitary towel, stealing her underwear, pouring solvent on her car and writing sinister notes.

Hollywood's favourite sons open fire on 'no risk' culture of the industry's 'dreary middle managers'

Joanna Coles in Cannes

HOLLYWOOD came under attack from two of its favourite sons yesterday when both the actor Dustin Hoffman and the director Francis Ford Coppola said it was no longer possible to make decent films there.

it had been influenced by violent films. He refused several parts because of the six big studios which dominate Hollywood of being incapable of taking artistic risks. Instead, there was a feeling that the bigger the budget the better the film, when in fact the opposite was more likely to be the case.

Accountants dictated filmmaking, but they were producing films no one wanted to see. Mr Hoffman, who in the seventies starred in Straw Dogs, criticised for being excessively brutal, said the atmosphere on film sets had changed for the worse. As an actor he wanted to enjoy the process, not spend the entire project wracked with fear that it would not make enough money in the opening week.

From High-Flier to Downshifter. Why more and more people are trading money for happiness. Tomorrow in the Observer.

Ofsted chief relishes role

John Carvel, Education Editor

THE man who has emerged as the strongest voice in education must be feeling more than usually pleased with himself as he flies off this weekend for a working break in New Zealand evangelising his distinctive personal technique for playing hardball with "incompetent" teachers.

He is a product of the 1960s 'trendy' teacher training ideas he is now seeking to exterminate

with complaints about Mr Woodhead's distortion of inspection evidence, which had been winging round the organisation's internal electronic mailing system among a network of anxious staff. According to Mr Richards, Mr Woodhead redefined average schools, describing them as "in need of improvement" to support the dramatic conclusion in his annual report that half of all primaries were unsatisfactory.

Clarke jeers 'tartan tax'

Erlend Clouston

AN EDINBURGH parliament with taxation powers would be a "knife in the back of Scotland", the Conservatives claimed yesterday. The Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, joined a chorus of ministers in Aberdeen to denounce the economic impact of Labour proposals which Mr Clarke described as "a real and terrible threat... to prosperity and jobs in Scotland".

Tories see it — £5 a week in tax to maintain current benefit levels. The Conservatives have been encouraged by polls this week which suggest that the Scottish mind is far from made up on home rule. One showed that 83 per cent of Scots admit they know nothing about the Constitutional Convention's plans for a Scottish parliament. Another found that a majority of Labour voters are unhappy about the prospect of paying extra Scottish income tax.

Blair signals compromise on gays in military

Michael White, Political Editor

TONY Blair signalled yesterday that a Labour government would negotiate "proper codes of conduct with the military" over the acceptance of gays and lesbians in the armed forces. Gay lobbyists expressed dismay that the Labour leader — unlike 10 shadow cabinet colleagues — abstained rather than support Edwina Currie's amendment to the Armed Forces Bill which would have put homosexual and heterosexual conduct on the same disciplinary footing in the ranks.

In Thursday night's debate the shadow defence secretary, David Clark, voted for Mrs Currie but his deputy, John Reid, voted the other way — having first explained that "logical objective" facts of military life tilted the balance away from full civil liberties on sex. Mr Blair also sought to straddle the issue. He later told BBC Radio 4's Today programme other countries had negotiated deals in recent years which "take account of the concerns of the military, but in a way that does not undermine the basic civil liberties of the subject."

John 101520

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The Guardian Saturday May 11 1996

Law Society leadership row heats up

Claire Dyer
Legal Correspondent

THE campaign against Martin Mears, president of the Law Society, gained momentum yesterday when Michael Napier, president of the Association of Personal Injury Lawyers, gave his support to the launch of a movement to oust Mr Mears.

Mr Napier told the annual conference of the 2,500-member association: "If the current negative public perception of the image of solicitors is to be repaired, our profession needs strong and statesmanlike leadership demonstrating that we are a modern and united profession."

"If that is the perception coming out of Chancery Lane [the society's London headquarters] at the moment, I am, with apologies to Private Eye, a banana."

"So I urge the solicitor members of the association to take serious note of the alternative grassroots solicitors' movement that has been announced today calling for new leadership, and I also urge them to ensure that this year everyone exercises their democratic right to vote."

The Campaign for New Leadership claims Mr Mears and his deputy, Robert Sayer, have turned the profession into a "laughing stock" and let its affairs go to "rack and ruin". It calls on them to stand down "if the profession is not to be damaged beyond repair".

The campaign is calling for candidates to come forward to oppose the pair in this summer's elections. So far no names have been put forward to stand, though moves are afoot to assemble a slate of candidates.

Mr Mears yesterday branded the campaign members "establishment hacks" and accused them of "disinformation and lies", claiming their documents showed they had been helped by a disgruntled Law Society employee.

Several key officials have left or announced their departure after run-ins with Mr Mears. He added: "In due course I shall be kicking this farago to bits."

Mr Napier is a member of the society's 75-strong council, only nine of whom are declared Mears supporters. A former partner of Rodger Pannone and a past president, he declared himself out of the running yesterday, pleading the pressures of running a large practice.

Launching the campaign yesterday, the chairman, Coventry solicitor Kevin Martin, said the catalyst was a series of incidents and articles involving Mr Mears which had caused "increasing dismay".

"The final straw was the president's speech to a women lawyers' conference last month, received in stony silence, when he attacked 'discrimination zealots who thrive on grievances and heresy hunting and use minorities as raw material for their whinge factories'."

In a letter circulated to council members, local law societies, and 600 solicitors, the campaign accuses Mr Mears and Mr Sayer of "chasing media opportunities for their maverick views". It adds: "Ever since they were elected, the Law Society has wallowed whilst they have run a perpetual election campaign, and picked fights with staff members who cannot answer back."

"The profession cannot afford another year of the same. Martin Mears and Robert Sayer have run on conflict — but achieve nothing."

In an article in the New Law Journal yesterday, Mr Mears claimed he was the victim of a "campaign of vilification and disinformation" and said his support around the country was stronger than ever. His most vociferous opponents were "a small coterie of metropolitan leftists".

Senior officers are confident they will make more "retrospective arrests" than in any similar mainland police operation with the aid of Britain's most extensive closed circuit television (CCTV) system, installed three years ago in Newcastle.

Almost 1,000 fans rampaged through the city centre, causing extensive damage to shops and cars and attacking bystanders. Although officers charged 29 people with public order offences after the final league game of the season — in which Newcastle failed to win the championship — they have used CCTV to identify more troublemakers.

Superintendent Peter Durham, central Newcastle commander, who chairs a national committee of senior officers preparing for the championships, said: "CCTV has never been used so extensively in a police operation. We want to make an impact and send out a clear warning before Euro 96."

The tournament kicks off with England playing Switzerland at Wembley on June 8, finishing with a final at the stadium on June 30. Another 23 group games will then be held in the space of 11 days in Birmingham, Leeds, Newcastle, Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield and Nottingham.

Some councillors and MPs in the host cities are unhappy with magistrates for granting longer licensing extensions in pubs and clubs — particularly in Manchester, Liverpool and Newcastle. Drunkenness played a large part in the Newcastle troubles, where police were pelted with bottles and cans.

In central Manchester, and Liverpool, licensing magistrates have decided to let pubs stay open until 1am for much of June. Many clubs and restaurants will be allowed to stay open until 4am. In Newcastle, pubs will close at midnight, while clubs

and restaurants have been given extensions until 3am. Police have encouraged the longer licensing hours. Several senior officers said they felt supporters would create fewer problems if they were allowed to drink at a "reasonable pace".

Police take the view that problems will come from organised gangs, or 'crews', bent on trouble, rather than drunken fans. Malcolm George, a Greater Manchester assistant chief constable, who will take charge of a national co-ordinating centre at Scotland Yard during Euro 96, says the

police will respond quickly at the first hint of trouble. "We have a very positive strategy to grip it immediately and prevent it from escalating." As part of a policing strategy costed at £5 million, public order units, equipped with full riot gear, will be based in the host cities.

Extensive preparation has been undertaken by the National Criminal Intelligence Service's football unit, which has over 5,000 people on a hoolligan data base. It believes that between 350 to 400 men are responsible for organising the setpiece battles at football grounds.



The former soccer star helping to launch BBC2's forthcoming Best Night in London yesterday PHOTOGRAPH DAVID MANSELL

BBC's 'Best fest' recalls 50 years of the good, the bad and the bubbly

John Duncan on Britain's 'greatest'



Best in his heyday with Manchester United

FOR those who measure the passage of time in sporting memories, Sunday, May 19, could be a depressing day.

George Best, that scrawny, black-haired 17-year-old who donned a Manchester United shirt for the first time in 1963 and quickly became Britain's greatest-ever footballer, will be 50 years old.

But attempts to sweep the anniversary under the carpet are futile, thanks to BBC2's Best Night, an evening of Best material — on that very day.

The coverage will include a documentary on the man, 10 of his best goals, a Manchester United family tree, Best's choice of the best of British (an unpredictable selection including Robbie Fowler, Mike England and Stuart Pearce), and a re-run of the 1966 European Cup quarter-final against Benfica which shot "El Beale" to stardom.

Best launched the evening at Football Football, a London restaurant where visitors are greeted at the door by a talking black bust of Best, suitably positioned

within a champagne cork's throw of the bar. In real life, though, he speaks well enough for himself, and yesterday fulminated on superstardom, prison and alcoholism — the good, the bad and the bubbly of his 50 years.

He even revealed that he had actually come out on top after years of heavy gambling and casino dwelling — "though nowadays I nearly have a heart attack if I lose a tennis".

"I am surprised sometimes I have made it this far," said Best. "I went

through a bad time when I didn't think I would make it and even one stage when I didn't want to, when I was really in the gutter. The trouble with being in the gutter is that people tend to step over you, but I pulled myself out."

"It's strange how things change though. Ten years ago I couldn't go out because everywhere I went people wanted to fight me. Now everyone wants to shake my hand — even kids of 10 who have probably only heard of me through their great-grandfather."

Best at (nearly) 50 is starting to look a little grandfatherly himself, but while the trappings of his youth remain — an 11am glass of champagne (tun-sipped) sat on the table as his latest wife Alex (blonde, of course) looked on — one senses that he now knows what the press and public expect of him and is happy to oblige.

"He's still the same rascal he ever was," said Michael Parkinson, who has recorded a candid interview with Best for the themed evening.

"He always had this willful streak in him but you can't deny that he was the greatest entertainer ever." And tomorrow's Cup Final? "The last time I went to a Cup Final that United were in was 1963, and it was a nightmare," said Best. "I was staying at the Wembley Hilton but there was such chaos in the hotel with everyone pestering me that I couldn't get out, so I watched it in the room with a bottle of wine. "I might just do that again."



Martin Mears... attacked 'establishment hacks'

Violent Newcastle fans face dawn call as police crack down in preparation for Euro 96

Peter Hetherington

SCORES of Newcastle United supporters at the centre of rioting earlier this week will shortly be arrested in a series of dawn raids after extensive examination of closed circuit television film.

The police swoop is to drive home the message that they will crack down hard on any disorder during the European football championships, which could bring up to 300,000 overseas fans to England next month.

Senior officers are confident they will make more "retrospective arrests" than in any similar mainland police operation with the aid of Britain's most extensive closed circuit television (CCTV) system, installed three years ago in Newcastle.

Almost 1,000 fans rampaged through the city centre, causing extensive damage to shops and cars and attacking bystanders. Although officers charged 29 people with public order offences after the final league game of the season — in which Newcastle failed to win the championship — they have used CCTV to identify more troublemakers.

Superintendent Peter Durham, central Newcastle commander, who chairs a national committee of senior officers preparing for the championships, said: "CCTV has never been used so extensively in a police operation. We want to make an impact and send out a clear warning before Euro 96."

The tournament kicks off with England playing Switzerland at Wembley on June 8, finishing with a final at the stadium on June 30. Another 23 group games will then be held in the space of 11 days in Birmingham, Leeds, Newcastle, Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield and Nottingham.

Some councillors and MPs in the host cities are unhappy with magistrates for granting longer licensing extensions in pubs and clubs — particularly in Manchester, Liverpool and Newcastle. Drunkenness played a large part in the Newcastle troubles, where police were pelted with bottles and cans.

In central Manchester, and Liverpool, licensing magistrates have decided to let pubs stay open until 1am for much of June. Many clubs and restaurants will be allowed to stay open until 4am. In Newcastle, pubs will close at midnight, while clubs

and restaurants have been given extensions until 3am. Police have encouraged the longer licensing hours. Several senior officers said they felt supporters would create fewer problems if they were allowed to drink at a "reasonable pace".

Police take the view that problems will come from organised gangs, or 'crews', bent on trouble, rather than drunken fans. Malcolm George, a Greater Manchester assistant chief constable, who will take charge of a national co-ordinating centre at Scotland Yard during Euro 96, says the

police will respond quickly at the first hint of trouble. "We have a very positive strategy to grip it immediately and prevent it from escalating." As part of a policing strategy costed at £5 million, public order units, equipped with full riot gear, will be based in the host cities.

Extensive preparation has been undertaken by the National Criminal Intelligence Service's football unit, which has over 5,000 people on a hoolligan data base. It believes that between 350 to 400 men are responsible for organising the setpiece battles at football grounds.

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ABBOT ALE
FROM GREENE KING

Tudjman may be barred from Council of Europe EU moves to shut door on Croatia

John Palmer in Brussels

EUROPEAN Union governments are considering an unprecedented last-minute move to block Croatian membership of the Council of Europe in protest at President Franjo Tudjman's crackdown on the independent media and his refusal to recognise elections for Zagreb city council.

man has repeatedly refused to recognise his attempts to form an administration and appoint a mayor in the capital. He has been accused of dictatorial measures against a handful of independent newspapers and broadcasting stations.

"As far as press freedom and democratic rights are concerned, is the situation any better in Croatia than in Serbia?"

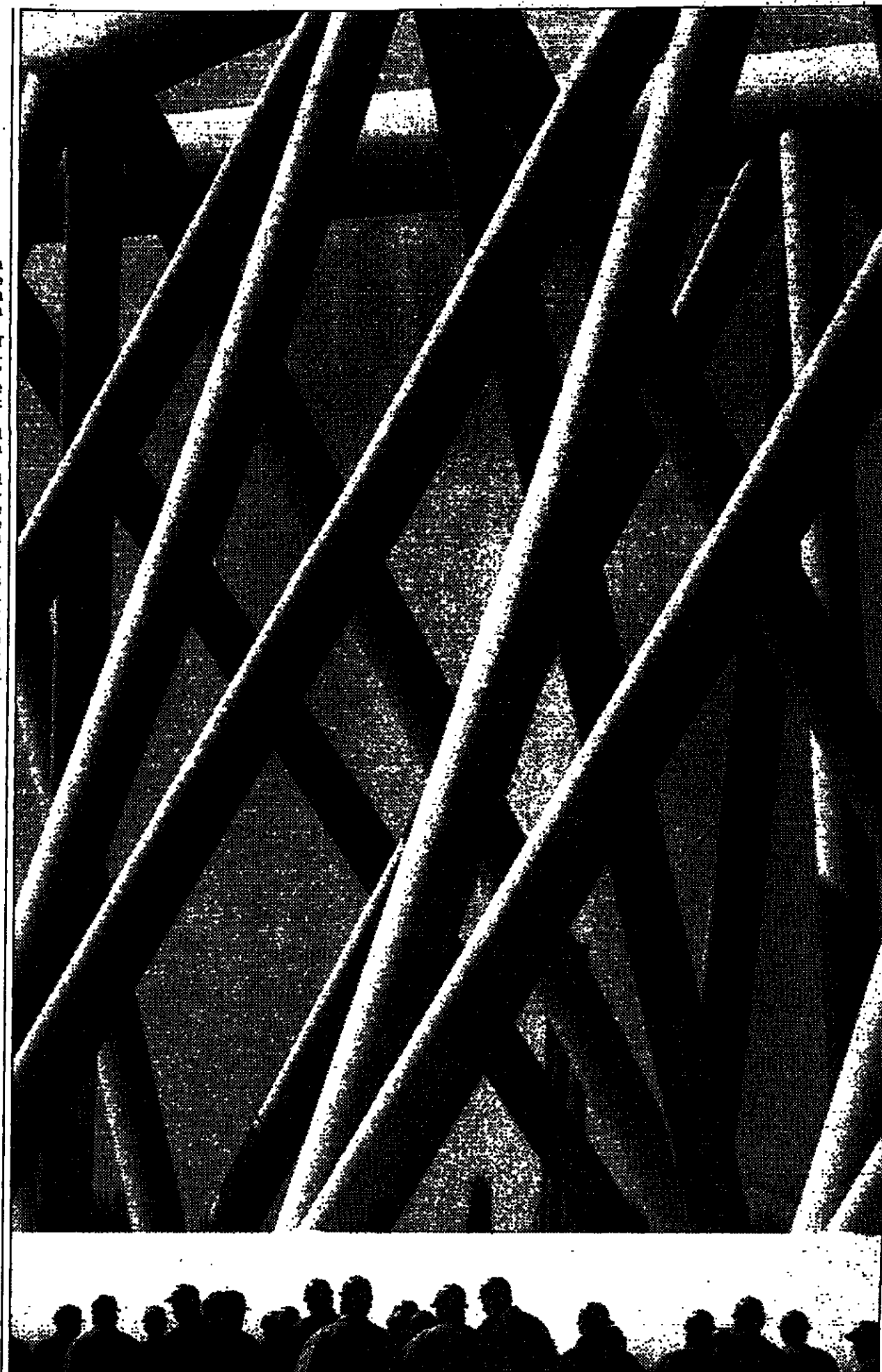
Aznar takes axe to public spending in EMU drive

Spain is joining the ranks of European governments planning heavy budget cuts, writes Adela Gooch in Madrid

SPAIN'S new conservative government began to slash public spending yesterday, making 200 billion pesetas (£1.06 billion) worth of cuts and a 30 per cent reduction in senior civil service jobs, as part of its effort to qualify as a founding member of the European Union's planned single currency.

wings," said Antonio Gutiérrez, leader of the Workers' Commissions.

Nevertheless, when the outgoing Socialist government tried to close down loss-making shipyards last year workers took to the streets, clashed with police and obtained a stay of execution.



Going down a storm... Visitors take in the odd sight of part of a giant £550 million flood protection construction at New Waterway in the Netherlands. When finished next year and placed in the water, it should protect the people of Rotterdam from storm surges

PHOTOGRAPH BY ARTHUR BASTIANSE

Chirac in Bonn to calm Kohl

Ian Traynor in Berlin

PRESIDENT Jacques Chirac of France arrived in Bonn last night hoping to persuade Chancellor Helmut Kohl that Germany has nothing to fear from his overhaul of the French military.

French raids hit Algerian terrorist network

Paul Webster in Paris

POLICE rounded up 46 Algerians in the Paris region and Marseille yesterday, breaking up an alleged logistical support group channeling forged identity documents to Algerian Islamic extremists.



Charles Dickens, a quote from "David Copperfield"

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World news in brief

Armani fined in trial deal

A COURT fined the leading designer Giorgio Armani yesterday and gave him a nine-month suspended sentence in a plea bargain at his bribery trial.

Russians resume shelling of Chechen village

RUSSIANS attacked the Chechen town of Urus Martan with mortar and tank fire overnight, the deputy head of the town's administration, Magomet Gaisultanov, said yesterday.

that military operations have stopped in Chechnya, but his forces on the ground continue to bombard villages.

China escapes US sanctions

The United States announced yesterday that it would not impose sanctions on China for allegedly selling nuclear weapons-related technology to Pakistan, after China agreed not to make such sales in the future.

Fate uncertain

The fate of thousands of Liberian refugees was uncertain yesterday after the Ivory Coast forced their freighter back to sea, despite fears that it is not seaworthy. It claims 2,000 guerrillas are on board. — Reuters.

China escapes US sanctions

guerrillas holding 11 hostages in Irian Jaya, Indonesia, an official said yesterday. He denied the helicopter was shot down by rebels while trying to rescue the hostages. — AP.

Crash kills five

Five people were killed when a military helicopter crashed near the jungle hideout of

Nomads on move

Thousands of nomads and tens of thousands of cattle were being moved to neighbouring areas after their pastures on the Mongolian steppes were devastated by four weeks of fires, officials said yesterday. — Reuters.

Hizbullah blast

A soldier in the pro-Israeli South Lebanon Army was killed yesterday by a roadside bomb, security sources said. Hizbullah claimed responsibility. — Reuters.

Swans perish

The worst snowstorm in China's northwestern Xinjiang region in 50 years has killed 469 swans. Only gifts of quilts prevented more deaths, Xinhua news agency said yesterday. — Reuters.

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PAUL WEBSTER in Paris (below) and IAN BLACK (right) on how Britain will welcome France's president next week

Wily Chirac opts for pragmatism

Aloof demigod or good sport?

IN HIS formal role as head of state, Jacques Chirac gives the impression of a distant satellite serenely circling the political scene before sending out peremptory messages to mission base ordering sudden changes of course.

Closer to earth, the Elysée palace staff see the president in quite a different light. He is a team player, fun to work with, rarely stands on ceremony in private, loves listening to his advisers, however junior, and rules over what one of his aides describes as "a happy household".

Neither the aloof star nor the team player will be easy for the British government to deal with. A year ago Britain was speaking of the natural ally of the Conservative Party, impatient to weaken links with Germany and the European Union. Events have proved Mr Chirac unpredictable when in cosmic mode, while his preference for an unassuming working style suggests that a simple reception, with wine in plastic beakers with sandwiches, might be a better way to his convivial heart than the pomp and ceremony of next week's state visit.

Just over a year will have passed since his election when Mr Chirac reached Waterloo station on Tuesday to be greeted by Princess Margaret. Only once in those months of office can it be said that he enthused over something British: the regular army. It is to serve as the model for a all-professional French defence force after 200 years of conscription.

He will no doubt have many kind things to say between meals at Buckingham Palace and walkabouts with the Prince of Wales.

But that is about as far as anyone would go in predicting whether he may be ready to repair holes in the *entente cordiale*, easing longstanding tensions recently exacerbated by the president's precipitous, protectionist and unrelenting ban on British beef.

A few days ago Mr Chirac succinctly answered a question on what Gaullism meant.

"Pragmatism," he answered. The past year has shown just how much that single word represents a Chirac philosophy developed during his terms as prime minister and 17 years as mayor of Paris.

Abruptly redrawing the political map has become a matter of routine. Nowhere in Mr Chirac's presidential campaign in May last year was there a serious debate on ending national service. Nor indeed has there been much consultation about rejoining Nato's supreme command, restoring good relations with China, or launching a risky Middle East peace initiative.

"In diplomatic matters, the secret is to adapt," he said when called on to explain why he never explained, and it was because Mr Chirac has a reputation for changing his mind several times between breakfast and elevenses that the only clear diplomatic message in his electoral campaign was misinterpreted in London. He was and always would be, he repeatedly said, a committed European and an enthusiastic supporter of the Paris-Bonn special relationship.

That commitment has taken him much further than expected and he has asked the French to make stringent economic sacrifices in a race to be ready for a single currency. Jacques Delors, the Socialist former president of the European Commission, who could have been president of France today, has congratulated Mr Chirac on his Europeanism and even the Socialist Party leader, Lionel Jospin, who was runner-up last year, has described most of his international and European policies as positive.

But on the home front Mr Chirac has reinforced his reputation as the master of tact and veer, since starting out on a sketchily defined social democratic course a year ago to tempt a hesitant electorate tired of diluted socialism and the foundering conservatism of the prime minister, Edouard Balladur. The bewitched voters of yesterday are the bewildered discontents of today's opinion polls,



Leading roles... Chirac greets a French girl dressed as Joan of Arc during a ceremony in Orleans this week to mark the 567th anniversary of the city's liberation from the British

confused, not least, by three contradictory economic policy switches in 12 months against the background of growing unemployment.

Last May Mr Chirac's election slogan was: Spend more government money and reduce taxes to create jobs. That soon became: Spend less government money and tax

more heavily to prepare for a European single currency. This week's message reads: Spend less public money and cut taxes to ensure both a better Europe and lower unemployment.

Mr Jospin, a clever economist than most, summed up this policy roundabout as "ordinary rightwing govern-

ment". Rightwing it may be, ordinary it certainly is not.

Because the prime minister is there to protect the head of state, Alain Juppé has taken most of the opinion poll and by-election knocks resulting from welfare cuts and unsuccessful job creation plans. He and his president are the most unpopular conservative duo in the fifth republic.

If there is no panic in the presidential palace it is because Mr Chirac still has six years in office (where will John Major be then?) and no one on the domestic scene to challenge him. Most fifth republic presidents have had powerful rivals and critics breathing down their necks, but Mr Jospin has yet to build his national status, while François Mitterrand is in his grave and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, a rightwing adversary of 20 years standing, has

been humiliatedly sidelined. No one hears much of Mr Balladur, his main internal Gaullist RPR rival a year ago, and Mr Delors has retired to the political purgatory zone.

With the right in control of both houses of parliament for at least another two years — and nearly all the most important local election levers — the president has room for independent manoeuvre and intuitive scheming on a scale unknown since the fifth republic was founded in 1958.

His record in the past year shows he means to use this freedom.

His home life, a saga of trials that trump the Queen's most horrible year, has also entered a tranquil period since his daughter and image adviser, Claude, gave birth to a son, Baby Martin is said to be the spitting image of his grandad.

Palace all set to dish up the beef

JACQUES CHIRAC will get red carpet treatment from the moment the Eurostar glides into Waterloo International on Tuesday afternoon.

Princess Margaret will greet the president and his entourage before they sweep off to Horse Guards to meet the Queen.

British beef (*de rigueur* for foreigners) will be on the menu at a private luncheon for 60 at Buckingham Palace, a contrast to the heavy formality of the rest of the four-day state visit.

Traffic in the capital will be badly disrupted as carriages and motorcades head for Hampton Court, Windsor, Westminster and the Guildhall. Tricolour flags will be much in evidence, but cheering crowds are unlikely.

It may only be three hours platform to platform — and political links between London and Paris stronger than ever before — but there is little sign that the average Briton has given up his or her customary hostility to the French.

Polling evidence shows that old animosities die hard. In time of war, Gallup found last October, Britons would trust France and Germany equally — though this was hardly a vote for Europe. Each got just 10 per cent against 46 per cent for the United States.

Only 26 per cent chose France as the chief ally of Britain, against 37 per cent for Germany — surprising if you consider the history of the 20th century, though not of the preceding two.

And these negative views are getting worse: 31 per cent of those polled thought Frenchmen arrogant (compared to only 10 per cent in 1977); 27 per cent thought them conceited.

Mori's survey of attitudes in 1994 found Britons less friendly towards Frenchmen than towards Spaniards or Germans. Ignorance is a problem: 70 per cent were unable to translate the phrase *rive gauche*.

Only 49 per cent managed *c'est la vie*.

The governments are certainly keener on each other than their people are: both make much of the relationship, though the British do it more than the French.

Mutual liking peaked in 1994 which, by happy coincidence, marked the 90th anniversary of the *entente cordiale*, the inauguration of the tunnel and a merciful end to the old joke: fog in channel, continent cut off.

Edouard Balladur and John Major struck up a solidly conservative friendship, despite the awkward *cohabitation* with President Mitterrand; the theme of a *Europe des patries* was taken up to spite that pesky Jacques Delors in Brussels.

Since then there has been close military co-operation in Bosnia, while highly secretive nuclear links, which are likely to involve joint targeting by British and French missile submarines, are deepening — part of the explanation for Mr Major's warm support for French nuclear testing last year.

Another part of it was historical: Britain and France are medium-sized nuclear powers with colonial legacies, overseas interests and permanent seats on the UN Security Council.

For countries which owe their international positions to past rather than current performance, it makes sense to stick together.

Leaving aside the divisive issue of monetary union,

they are also close on those European issues — immigration, justice and drugs — which they prefer to deal with at the inter-governmental level. France's Algerian problem has brought unusual cohesiveness between the spoils.

In a crowded schedule, President Chirac is devoting 15 minutes on Tuesday to pay homage to his mentor, Charles de Gaulle, at the general's statue in Carlton House Terrace, wartime headquarters of the Free French.

On Thursday traffic-bound Londoners will breathe a little more easily when the president, worried about his own bleak *banquettes*, leaves to tour Easterhouse, a deprived housing estate in Glasgow where he will meet young people involved in community projects run by the Prince's Trust.

"Fresh," President Chirac wants to compare notes and see the seamier side of life in a positive sort of way," volunteered a chirpy Foreign Office official.

And that might even turn out to be the most media-friendly part of the visit.

'Chirac wants to compare notes and see life's seamier side in a positive sort of way'

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Beverley

2.55 Poly My Boy 3.55 Izze 4.55 Dances Stables 4.55 Darling Clover

Colony Good to them. 4 Decades Milehand. Drawn High heat 77.8 1m. Figures in brackets after horse's name denote days since latest outing.

Table with 2 columns: Race number and horse name with jockey and trainer details.

TOP FURN TIPS: Poly My Boy & Poly My Boy 7, Dances Stables 8, 1-1 Concession Stds, Sun Here, 14-1 Turbo North, New Coast 14, 14m runners

Table with 2 columns: Race number and horse name with jockey and trainer details.

TOP FURN TIPS: Two Hasty & Silverdale Knight 7, Smarter Charter 6

Table with 2 columns: Race number and horse name with jockey and trainer details.

TOP FURN TIPS: Percy Brattonville & Epsilon 7, Pride Of Puddles 6

Table with 2 columns: Race number and horse name with jockey and trainer details.

TOP FURN TIPS: Agnes 4, Hatched 3, 1-1 Concession Stds, Sun Here, 14-1 Turbo North, New Coast 14, 14m runners

Table with 2 columns: Race number and horse name with jockey and trainer details.

TOP FURN TIPS: Dances Stables & General Murrat 7

Table with 2 columns: Race number and horse name with jockey and trainer details.

TOP FURN TIPS: Dances Stables & General Murrat 7

Warwick (N.H.) tonight

5.40 Freedom Of State 7.10 Tipping The Scales 6.10 Indian Run 7.40 American Flyer 6.10 The Excelsior 8.40 Tallow Lady

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TOP FURN TIPS: Dances Stables & General Murrat 7

Yesterday's racing results, page 9.

Racing

Heron Island can keep Manton in Derby picture

SLIP ANCHOR, in 1985, and Kalyasi three years later won the Triplemint Derby Trial at Lingfield on their way to victory in the real thing at Epsom. It is unlikely we shall see a repeat from any of the four Classic entries in the race today, but success for Heron Island would provide his trainer Peter Chapple-Hyam with further encouragement for the stable's number one Derby hope, Nash House, who runs at York next week. Chapple-Hyam has made no secret of the fact that Nash House figures some way ahead of Heron Island on the Manton gallops. But there is room for improvement from the colt based on his form in public so far, and he can prove the point today. Though he only got home narrowly from Story Line in a muddling three-runner affair at Salisbury last time, Heron Island should be a different proposition over the privately-built racecourse, satellite broadcasts into Asia and international betting. The scheme would operate in direct competition with An-

Packer plans to privatise Oz

AUSTRALIAN racing could be split by a plan by Kerry Packer, the media tycoon, to set up a private horseracing circuit aimed at creating a take from the lucrative betting market in Asia. The plan involves privately-built racecourses, satellite broadcasts into Asia and international betting. The scheme would operate in direct competition with An-

Lingfield with form for the Jackpot races

Table with 2 columns: Race number and horse name with jockey and trainer details.

Colony Good to them. 4 Decades Milehand. Drawn High heat up to 71.

Table with 2 columns: Race number and horse name with jockey and trainer details.

TOP FURN TIPS: Agnes 4, Hatched 3, 1-1 Concession Stds, Sun Here, 14-1 Turbo North, New Coast 14, 14m runners

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TOP FURN TIPS: Dances Stables & General Murrat 7

years with Lady Carla (4.15). Impressive winner of her only start late last year, this Cearleon filly does not appear to have much to beat with today's only other Oaks entry, Moody's Cat, having run modestly in Italy last time. The Classic scene shifts to France tomorrow, where there is a strong British challenge in the French 2,000 Guineas, headed by Danehill Dancer. Almost certainly racing on slower ground when only six behind Mark Of Esteem on the heavily-watered Rowley Mile last week, he should be better suited by this turning track. Don Michelotto represents

Godolphin, but Helicon was their first choice until he was injured and I fancy the French can keep the prize at home with the Aga Khan's unbeaten colt, Askakalani (4.05). The filies' Classic should also stay at home courtesy of Shake The Yoke (3.35), who trotted up by 10 lengths from Reasonable over the Longchamp course and distance last month. The Jockey Club yesterday stated there will be no changes to the much-maligned whip instruction EB, even in the light of growing criticism from some leading industry figures. It has been suggested that whip bans and fines against offending jockeys under the present rule are merely a limp olive branch offered to appease animal-rights campaigners, but do nothing to stop infringement of the rules. But Anthony Mildmay-White, chairman of the Jockey Club disciplinary committee, reacted strongly: 'Any win at all costs approach will be dealt with severely. I see no need for a hasty reaction as the result of just one race,' he said, referring to last week's 2,000 Guineas.

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TOP FURN TIPS: Dances Stables & General Murrat 7

Worcester (N.H.)

11.45 Blenheim 1.10 Phoebe Doves 1.10 Phoebe Doves 1.10 Phoebe Doves

Colony Good to them. 4 Decades Milehand. Drawn High heat up to 71.

Table with 2 columns: Race number and horse name with jockey and trainer details.

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TOP FURN TIPS: Dances Stables & General Murrat 7

RACINE Top of the House 0930 168+ COMMENTARY NASH HOUSE heads Ladbrokes's betting for next Wednesday's Dante Stakes at York. They quote him 15-8 favourite, then go 3-1 Dushyantor, 9-2 Storm Trooper and Glory Of Dancer. 6-1 Shaanmit, 6-1 Asher Field, 14-1 Shaanmit Knight and Double Leaf, 16-1 Jack Jennings.

Longchamp tomorrow 3.35 Dubai Pools d'Etat des Poushies (1,000 Oubang) Group 1 2YO colts to £131,732 1-11 TIME FLARE (7) Nina C Hand 9-0 Pat Baldry 8 2-11 THE IRISH (2) D. O'Connell 9-0 W. Carson 4 3-11 SHANEY THE POWER (2) R. L. O'Connell 9-0 J. Carson 4 4-11 A VOTRE SAUTE (4) Nina C Hand 9-0 W. Carson 4 5-11 RONDA DANCO (4) Nina C Hand 9-0 W. Carson 4 6-11 SHANANON (2) Nina C Hand 9-0 W. Carson 4 7-11 RASBERRANT (2) D. O'Connell 9-0 W. Carson 4 8-11 SHANANON (2) D. O'Connell 9-0 W. Carson 4 9-11 SHANANON (2) D. O'Connell 9-0 W. Carson 4 10-11 SHANANON (2) D. O'Connell 9-0 W. Carson 4 11-11 SHANANON (2) D. O'Connell 9-0 W. Carson 4

BBC2 4.05 Dubai Pools d'Etat des Poushies (2,000 Oubang) Group 1 2YO colts to £131,732 1-11 BARRACADE (7) Nina C Hand 9-0 W. Carson 4 2-11 ASKAKALANI (7) Nina C Hand 9-0 W. Carson 4 3-11 ASKAKALANI (7) Nina C Hand 9-0 W. Carson 4 4-11 ASKAKALANI (7) Nina C Hand 9-0 W. Carson 4 5-11 ASKAKALANI (7) Nina C Hand 9-0 W. Carson 4 6-11 ASKAKALANI (7) Nina C Hand 9-0 W. Carson 4 7-11 ASKAKALANI (7) Nina C Hand 9-0 W. Carson 4 8-11 ASKAKALANI (7) Nina C Hand 9-0 W. Carson 4 9-11 ASKAKALANI (7) Nina C Hand 9-0 W. Carson 4 10-11 ASKAKALANI (7) Nina C Hand 9-0 W. Carson 4 11-11 ASKAKALANI (7) Nina C Hand 9-0 W. Carson 4

Wolverhampton AW tonight 7.00 Calabash 8.30 Warders 7.30 Sweet Supper 9.00 O'Harry 8.00 Shady 9.30 Young Marston

Rugby Union

WRU gets tough with club rebels

DAVID PLUMMER
WALES'S 12 First Division clubs will have a showdown meeting with the Welsh Rugby Union in Cardiff this morning after receiving an ultimatum to agree to play in officially organised competitions next season or face expulsion.

The WRU has decided to get tough because of the clubs' refusal to take part in European and Anglo-Welsh competitions proposed for next season. They have been offered 70 per cent of the money generated, which would be worth £300,000 to each club. The 12 believe they could earn more going it alone and they want some control in the way the competitions are run.

The chairman of First Division Rugby Limited Peter Thomas wants to see the WRU turned into a public limited company. "Unless something is done, Welsh rugby will disappear from our name," he said. "We are sick and tired of seeing players disappear from our name."

Heineken League: Pontypridd 27, Cardiff 27

Cardiff salvage draw to stay in pole position

ROBERT ARMSTRONG
PONTYPRIDD injected fresh uncertainty into the three-horse race for the Heineken League title last night by forcing a draw with Cardiff at Sardis Road that earned each side an extra point.

Cardiff remain the leaders but Ponty's determined surge for the title, spearheaded by their fly-half Neil Jenkins, will give fresh hope to second-placed Neath who play at Treorchy today. The top three will settle the issue with their final league games on Tuesday.

Both sides' commitment to fast moving, flexible football yielded seven tries, two of which came in the opening five minutes. Andy Moore, the Cardiff scrum-half, capitalised on complacency in the Ponty defence, picking up on the base of a scrum and forcing his way over in the right corner. A minute later Jen-



Teen triumph... 15-year-old Martina Hingis sweeps to victory in Rome BRUNO MOSCONI

Tennis

Young Martina tramples Graf's feet of clay

STEPHEN BIERLEY in Rome
WOMEN'S tennis is yearning for two things this summer. One is the return to fitness of Monica Seles; the second is the breakthrough of one of the younger players.

Martina Hingis, not yet 16, produced the tournament upset of the year yesterday afternoon with a 2-6, 6-2, 6-3 victory over the world's joint No. 1 Steffi Graf in the quarter-finals of the Italian Open. "God for all and Steffi for the chosen," proclaimed a banner on the top tier of the Foro Italico's centre court. The excited chosen gazed away with ever-growing disbelief and concern as their goddess of the court displayed all-too-human vulnerability.

Sport in brief

Boxing
Scott Welch, the British and Commonwealth heavyweight champion from Brighton, will fight the EBU champion Zeljko Mavrovic, an English-trained Croatian based in Germany, for the European title on the Prince Naseem Hamed bill at Newcastle Arena on June 8.

Basketball

The Helms Royals, who finished last in the Budweiser League, have signed a 6ft 10in Anglo-Nigerian centre, Emeka Nwankwo, and resigned the Americans Allen Koochof and Ray Schultz.

Hockey

Two corner goals from Teddington's Philip McGuire, who became the first leading European sides to abandon their city of origin as a way of

Motor Rallying

Colin McRae, the world champion from Scotland, made full use of his skill and survival instincts on a treacherous opening day of the Indonesia Rally. McRae drove cautiously on roads made slippery by heavy rain to take the lead in his Subaru Impreza, five seconds ahead of his Finnish title rival Tommi Mäkinen in a Mitsubishi.

Soccer

Juventus and Torino have decided to play on in Turin, if only for another season, writes John Hopper in Rome. The clubs had threatened to become the first leading European sides to abandon their city of origin as a way of

Results

Soccer
NORTHERN LEAGUES Second Division: Bradford 0, Preston 3, Lancaster 0, Hull 2. Third Division: Shrewsbury 5, Burn 0. AVON LEAGUES: Championship: First Division: Exeter 1, Charlton 2, Watford 1, Brighton 3.

Rugby Union

HEINEKEN NATIONAL LEAGUES: First Division: Pontypridd 27, Cardiff 27. Second Division: Newport 27, Cardiff 27. Third Division: Newport 27, Cardiff 27.

Tennis

GERMAN OPEN (Hamburg): Quarter-finals: B. Becker (GER) 6-4, 6-4, 6-4 vs. K. Kiehlmann (GER); S. Schuster (GER) 6-4, 6-4, 6-4 vs. J. Schuster (GER); J. Schuster (GER) 6-4, 6-4, 6-4 vs. J. Schuster (GER); J. Schuster (GER) 6-4, 6-4, 6-4 vs. J. Schuster (GER).

Baseball

NATIONALS St Louis 16, San Francisco 8; Detroit 10, Pittsburgh 1; San Diego 10, Houston 1; Philadelphia 10, Boston 2; NY Yankees 10, Toronto 1; Baltimore 10, Texas 2; Toronto 8, California 2; Kansas City 8.

Baseball

MLB Western Conference Play-off: Anaheim 8, Los Angeles 6; St Louis 10, Pittsburgh 1; San Diego 10, Houston 1; Philadelphia 10, Boston 2; NY Yankees 10, Toronto 1; Baltimore 10, Texas 2; Toronto 8, California 2; Kansas City 8.

Baseball

ROYAL WINDSOR HORSE SHOW: Amateurs: 1. M. Williams (G) 55.00; 2. R. Williams (G) 54.00; 3. D. Williams (G) 53.00; 4. S. Williams (G) 52.00; 5. J. Williams (G) 51.00; 6. P. Williams (G) 50.00; 7. K. Williams (G) 49.00; 8. L. Williams (G) 48.00; 9. M. Williams (G) 47.00; 10. N. Williams (G) 46.00.

Baseball

ROYAL WINDSOR HORSE SHOW: Professionals: 1. J. Williams (G) 55.00; 2. R. Williams (G) 54.00; 3. D. Williams (G) 53.00; 4. S. Williams (G) 52.00; 5. J. Williams (G) 51.00; 6. P. Williams (G) 50.00; 7. K. Williams (G) 49.00; 8. L. Williams (G) 48.00; 9. M. Williams (G) 47.00; 10. N. Williams (G) 46.00.

Baseball

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Advertisement for THE FAMOUS GROUSE FINEST SCOTCH WHISKY, featuring an image of a white swif and the text 'A SWIFT ONE.'

FA CUP FINAL

He rants uncontrollably and winds up defenders but Alex Ferguson believes this has been his best season. Michael Walker meets United's goalkeeper

Schmeichel the screaming saviour

KICKING and Screaming may have been the title for the documentary series about the history of English football broadcast this season but it could just as easily apply to a book or film about Peter Schmeichel. But perhaps "Saving and Screaming" would be more appropriate. Or, better still, "Saving Screammers and then Yelling About It".

That would encapsulate the image the public has of Schmeichel. Away from Old Trafford it is fair to say the Manchester United goalkeeper is one of the least popular at Premiership grounds. His seemingly uncontrollable ranting at defenders winds up more than just those in front of him, although the fact that he is so frighteningly good plays its part too.

And, as Alex Ferguson said this week, Schmeichel is good when it counts. "He's produced his saves at important times, at 0-0 and 1-0. Even at Bolton when we won 3-0 he made two important saves before we scored. You can make saves at 4-0 up and it doesn't matter a dicky bird but when you do it with no goals on the board that means something."

"In my mind this is his best ever season. He's been absolutely outstanding."

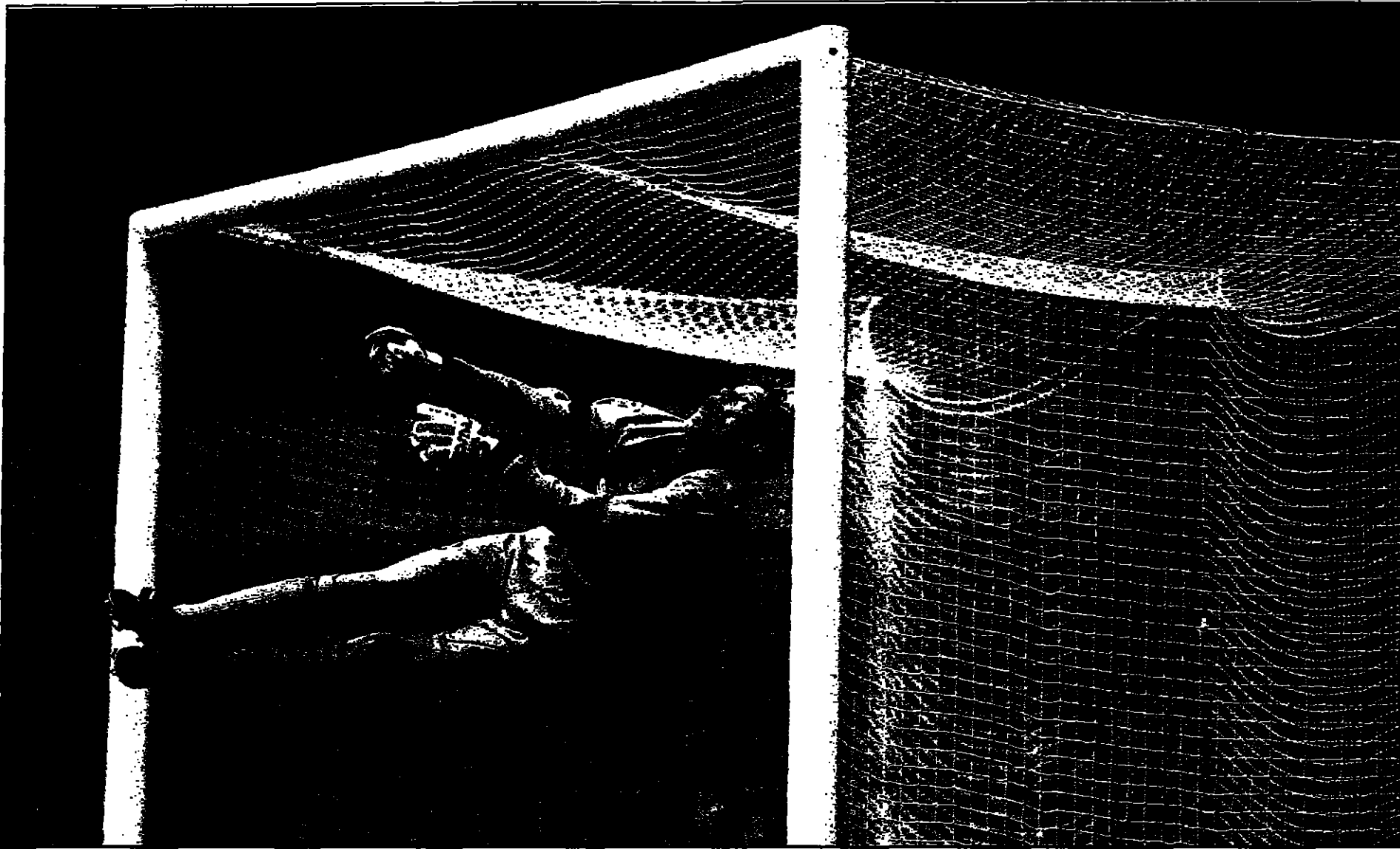
That tribute compares to Brian Clough's assertion that Peter Shilton was worth 30 points a season to Nottingham Forest when there were only two points for a win.

As Ferguson said, Schmeichel's interventions have come at vital times with turning points in games snowballing into pivotal moments in the season.

Les Ferdinand clean through at Old Trafford with the score 1-0. Schmeichel saves. Sasa Curcic's shot at Bolton at 0-0. Schmeichel saves. Chris Armstrong, one-on-one with no score at Old Trafford in March. Schmeichel saves. And most significantly, Ferdinand put through by Asprilla at St James' Park. Schmeichel saves.

It was 0-0. United went on to win with the only goal courtesy of Eric Cantona but people will identify Schmeichel's stops as critical in deciding the championship.

The giant Dane concurs in his curiously Molby-meets-



All holes barred... Schmeichel's stops became pivotal moments in the season as United finally won the battle with Newcastle for the Premiership title. PHOTOGRAPH: MICHAEL STEELE

Merseyside accent. "I think that game was a turning point. We played extremely poorly in the first 15 minutes and gave them chances."

"But after that we really outplayed them. We might not have played a fancy game, we just kept the ball, passed it around, let them get frustrated. And then we got the chance. Newcastle would have had two games in hand and a 12-point lead. Instead it was down to six."

As Newcastle went in to a riot United got into the groove and while the contribution of "the young ones" was high-

lighted Schmeichel thinks it was the old heads who brought home the trophy. "At times the more experienced players in the squad have had to play out of their skins to win 1-0 games. We have had a lot of young players so I think the experienced players have done tremendously well."

"The young players have been ever so good, shown a great appetite. I'd like to be 25 because these guys are going to win everything if they stay together." Even the European Cup? "In time, yeah. Last year you must have asked 'can they win the champion-

ship?' The answer was 'probably'. So you never know."

At 33, Schmeichel has a few years left, but attributes his impressive season to the fact that "basically I've had more to do" rather than an improvement in his game. He does, however, use the word "mature" to describe himself now. "You get older and you change your attitude. When I was young I was only thinking of me. Today I don't care about personal honours, it's what we can achieve as a team. If I wanted personal honours I should have been a 100-metre runner."

How does this maturity account for the apparent goal rage he displays on the field? "If I wasn't like that I wouldn't be able to play because that's my way of concentrating. You should see Pally and Bruce's faces, they're worse. For them and for me, it's just an expression that we're in the game."

But Schmeichel insists that this afternoon he will be relaxed and enjoy himself. "That's the thing about this team, even the young players all seem so relaxed before the game. You wouldn't believe the atmosphere if you could

look into the dressing room. It's just very laid back. And running up to the final, you go for your suit, you get your picture taken, it's a brilliant three days."

However, there is one man in particular who could spoil his day - Robbie Fowler. The young striker has scored four times against United this season.

Mention of the name produced a flutter from the Dana. With one of his huge paws he motioned towards the Old Trafford pitch. "The goal that I let in here [high at the near post], that was bad goalkeep-

ing. I thought he was going to cross the ball. Fowler did well there but he's not going to do that again."

"He's a good striker but this country has a lot of good strikers. Denmark are going to the European Championships with three strikers maybe, England have about 20. Every team has a good striker, it's like a trade mark for the Premiership."

Schmeichel has his own trade marks. The charging, starfish lunge; the "it's not my fault" screaming; and, increasingly, those turning points.

Twist given to Eric's tale

Martha Thorpe

THE first time Eric Cantona speaks publicly all season, and he is misquoted. Mon Genins must be wondering why he broke his silence in the first place.

After picking up his soccer writers' Footballer of the Year award at a dinner on Thursday night, Cantona gave a little speech. It became a big story. At least in one hard-of-hearing national newspaper.

Eric Cantona launched an amazing attack on his critics last night by branding them "toilets," sang their back-page lead. It then quoted the Frenchman as saying: "Some criticism means nothing, so I compare some of them to toilets and think 'screw them'. But others are worth listening to and I have tried to do better."

To ram home their outrage the paper accompanied that story with a full-page article inside headlined: "Eric's Gone Mad Again!"

Hold on! What Eric actually told the 750-strong audience was: "Some criticism means nothing, so I throw them where they deserve to be - toilets. Some others are something, so I try to use them to become better."

It is a safe bet there will have been an extra flush of the Cantona loo yesterday. Hundreds of Manchester United and Liverpool fans could discover that their Cup final tickets are stolen or forged - and end up arrested. Officials are on alert following a recent break-in at Old Trafford and the theft of more tickets in the Liverpool area.

The Wembley stadium director Paul Sergeant said that many fans run the risk of being ejected from the stadium if they attempt to use the stolen tickets.

"Every FA Cup final ticket is recorded," he says. "We know exactly which tickets were stolen and anyone coming in with one of those will be stopped and probably arrested. There is also the danger of forged tickets, which again are easy for us to spot."

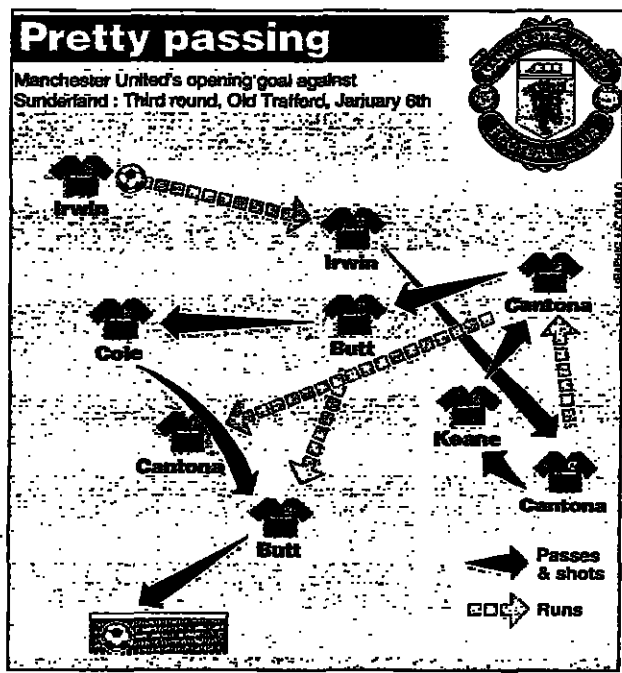
THE SCORING HABIT: Two crucial goals on the road to Wembley

David Lacey



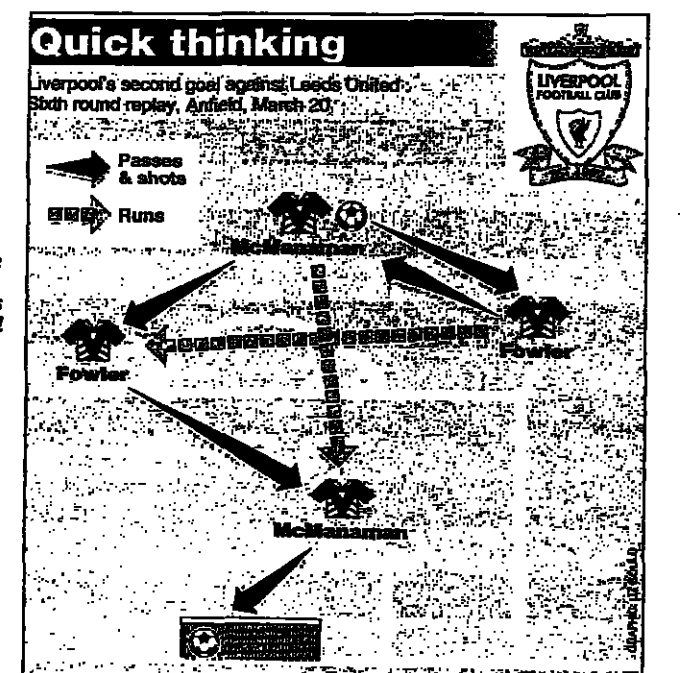
Cantona... astute

Manchester Utd v Sunderland
Third round
Old Trafford, Jan 6
Manchester United's opening goal epitomised the excellence of their passing and movement, as well as Cantona's astute footballing brain. Having taken a ball from Irwin, the Frenchman exchanges passes with Keane, squares to Butt and sets off on a run across the penalty area, taking defenders with him. Butt, meanwhile, lays the ball off to Cole and runs beyond the defence before meeting Cole's lobbed return pass with a first-time shot into the net.



Fowler... draws defenders

Liverpool v Leeds United
Sixth-round replay
Anfield, March 20
This goal proved that there is more to Robbie Fowler's game than just scoring goals. With the defence holding off, and Fowler to his left, McManaman passes as he approaches the penalty area. A pass to Fowler draws two defenders on to the striker, but instead of turning for goal Fowler slips the ball back to McManaman and runs square for another return. By now the defence is completely flummoxed. McManaman finds Fowler once more, then sprints through a yawning gap to meet Fowler's second pass and score.



Keane and Butt the men to disrupt Liverpool's stride

MATCH a counter-puncher against a combination of a virtually guaranteed win, as much as the quality of the individual talent on show, is why many believe that today's Cup final will remain longer in the memory than most. Yet it will surely be in Manchester United's interest, especially early in the game, to deny Liverpool opportunities to use the full range of their ringcraft. And this can only be achieved if United set up a series of midfield clinches. So while Eric Cantona and Ryan Giggs may eventually upstage Robbie Fowler and Steve McManaman, the most important players for Manchester United at the outset will be Roy Keane and Nicky Butt, the men most likely to deny Liverpool the measured tempo at which they will set out to play the game. United's last two finals have not seen Alex Ferguson's team at their best. Chelsea were the better side before the interval in 1994 and while Giggs began to get going after half-time it took two penalties from Cantona to break the resistance of Glenn Hoddle's team. At Wembley last season, minus Cantona and with

Giggs used only in the second half, United failed to respond to the inspiration Anders Limpar had given Everton and lost to Paul Rideout's 30th-minute goal. Today they could do worse than emulate the tenacity with which Joe Parkinson and Barry Horne steadily eroded the influence of Keane and Paul Ince. Ferguson could start with the team that won the Premiership at Middlesbrough on Sunday, which would mean David May preferred to Steve Bruce at centre-back and Andy Cole again on the bench. But while May looks certain to keep his place Cole's instant goal at Riverside, after replacing Paul Scholes early in the second half, may see him back on the field at the start today. Roy Evans's Liverpool team has virtually picked itself. He really only had to decide between Babb and Neil Ruddock for the third place at the back. Both defences are strong but not invulnerable, and neither can fully provide for what Fowler or Giggs might do next. What McManaman can achieve with a run Cantona can equal with a glance. Both teams have scoring potential in midfield. But Manchester United have the better goalkeeper which could, in the end, prove decisive. **A N O'NEILL** (page 19): **Stuart Pearson** (Hull City, Manchester United, West Ham).

Manchester United
PETER SCHMEICHEL
Probably the best goalkeeper in the world, despite a recent lapse with Denmark. Schmeichel has underwritten United's success under Alex Ferguson and Liverpool must get in close to beat him unless Fowler, Collymore, McManaman, Barnes or Redknapp can produce an inspired long shot. **Marks: 9**
DENNIS IRWIN
Generally acknowledged to be the best full-back in the Premier League, Irwin has proved his versatility by switching from left to right in United's back four to accommodate Phil Neville. He will be responsible for keeping tabs on McManaman. **Marks: 8**
DAVID MAY
May's future at Old Trafford looked uncertain when Ferguson, having bought him as centre-back cover for Bruce, started playing him at right-back. But during the run-in to United's latest title he has proved his original worth several times over. **Marks: 7**
GARY PALLISTER
Pallister's recent return after a spell out with sciatitis has restored the strength in the air that numerous permutations of the other centre-backs could not replace. Liverpool will hope that Collymore, Fowler and McMan-

man are able to exploit any rustiness on the ground. **Marks: 7**
PHIL NEVILLE
Potentially the younger Neville brother is the nearest thing England have got to a Christian Ziege, the Bayern Munich wing-back. Today he will seek both to stop McAteer overlapping on the Liverpool right while exploiting any space behind him that the three-man defence has not covered. **Marks: 8**
DAVID BECKHAM
The best of Beckham is yet to come but already, creatively, he looks the most gifted of United's latest crop. He has skill in abundance, and the composure to go with it and should prove a handful for Jones on the right. **Marks: 8**
NICKY BUTT
Butt's midfield partnership with Roy Keane has matured steadily as the season has progressed. He has a spiky temperament but is lamblike compared to Keane and Paul Ince. More importantly he has both a quick eye for the penetrating pass. **Marks: 8**
ROY KEANE
It is important for United that Keane curbs a tendency to get booked for rash tackles early on, because he is the player most likely to deny Liverpool their

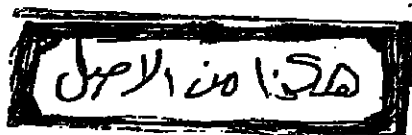
Liverpool
DAVID JAMES
Liverpool's most improved player this season, James has cut out the blind dashes beyond the near post that cost several goals. He still fails to hold the odd ground shot, which would be costly today, but he has always been a good shot-stopper and if he has a good final United will find it hard to score. **Marks: 8**
JOHN SCALES
The unsung hero of Liverpool's three-man defence, Scales' pace and sensible approach have been consistent qualities at the back all season. He will be the man to pick up Cantona on Liverpool's radar and stop the Frenchman doing damage where it hurts. **Marks: 8**
MARK WRIGHT
The season's most remarkable comeback. No longer an accident waiting to happen, Wright's career has revived on the wrong side of the 30 principally because his sweeper's tendencies are ideally suited to the way Roy Evans's side wants to play it at the back. **Marks: 7**
PHIL BABB
Roy Evans will have thought hard before preferring Babb to Neil Ruddock. Maybe the threat of Andy Cole's extra pace helped him decide. Babb is a competent centre-back but has

not always looked comfortable in this system. He will be happier for Rob Jones's presence on the left. **Marks: 7**
JASON McATEER
The final, crucial piece in Liverpool's conversion to a three-man defence with five in midfield. McAteer has steadily improved after a gauche start. Now he is as crucial an attacking force on the Liverpool right as is Phil Neville on United's left. Today, however, he has to keep Giggs in check. **Marks: 8**
JAMIE REDKNAPP
A strained hamstring interrupted Redknapp's outstanding season just when he was settling into England's midfield. He has yet to recover that level of form. **Marks: 8**
JOHN BARNES
A dozen years have passed Barnes was playing for Watford against Everton in an FA Cup final. His role today will be rather different to what it was then, though equally important. Barnes is there to hold the ball and give Liverpool pause for thought. And he can still take a useful free-kick. **Marks: 7**
ROB JONES
The success of Jones's conversion from right-back to left-sided midfielder has strength-

ened an area of weakness in Liverpool's adoption of a European format. His primary job today will be to limit Beckham's movements, keep an eye out for Giggs's switching of wings and support McManaman. **Marks: 8**
STEVE McMANAMAN
The player most likely to precipitate a Liverpool victory today, McManaman's ability to take the ball past defenders on angled runs will offer the biggest initial threat to United, who will not have forgotten his goals against Bolton in last season's Coca-Cola final. **Marks: 9**
STAN COLLYMORE
His metamorphosis from out-and-out striker to Robbie Fowler's most natural full-give United problems in deciding who tracks Collymore down when he goes deep. There is also the small problem of his penchant for shooting on sight from long range. Even Schmeichel may be surprised. **Marks: 8**
ROBBIE FOWLER
Fowler could win the Cup for Anfield with an inspired moment or two near goal. His nerveless approach and his natural scorer's instincts make him the player most likely to deny Old Trafford another Double. **Marks: 9**

TOTAL: 88

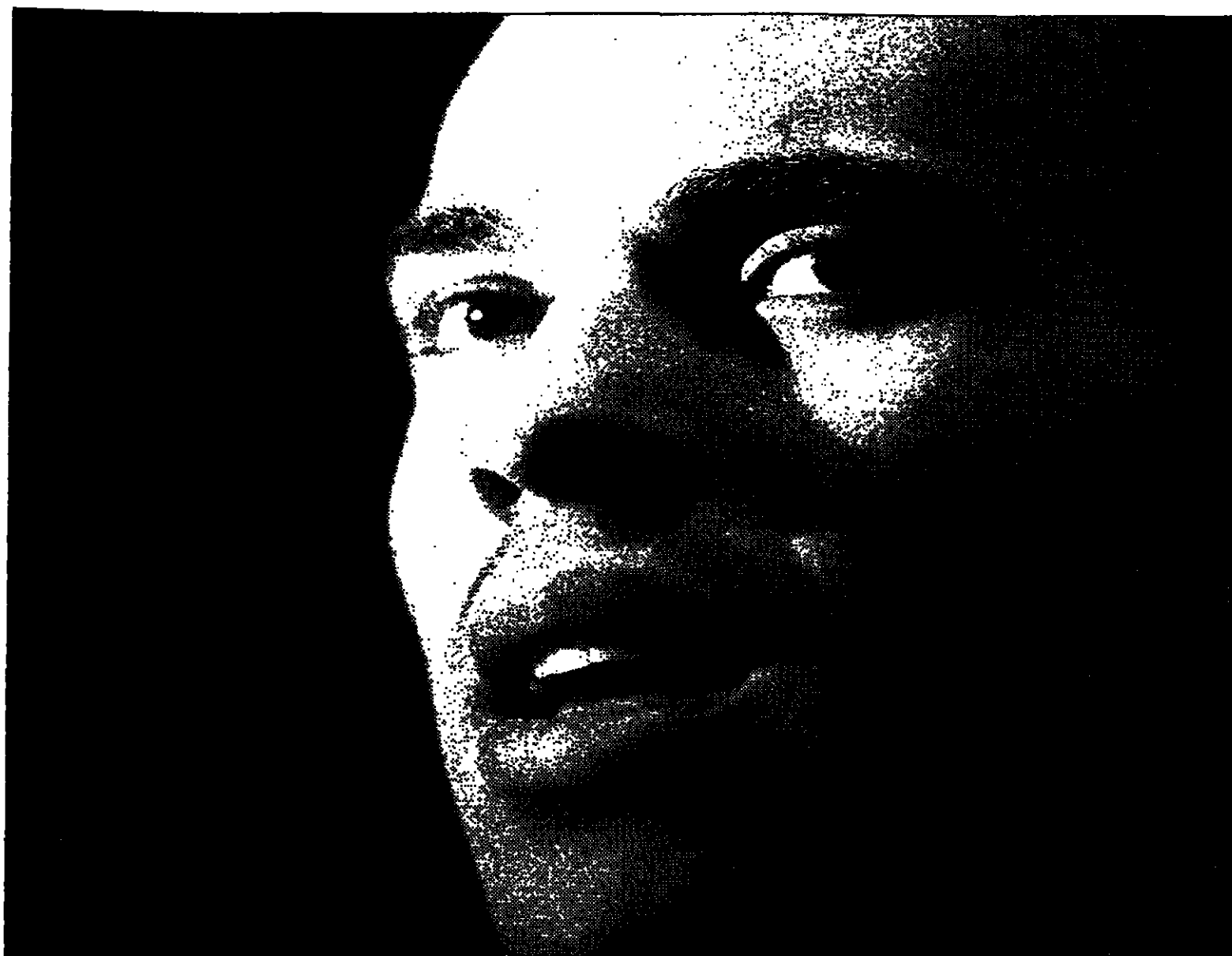
TOTAL: 87



FA CUP FINAL

Stan the man happy to have found his feet at Anfield

Stan Collymore talks of life at Liverpool to Richard Williams Photograph by Michael Steele



HE CAME off the coach from the training ground with an Armani bag containing the cream suit that the Liverpool players will wear on the ride to Wembley; and he smiled when an agent stepped forward to announce that the squad's new record had gone straight into the top five. But then came a quick grimace as he was reminded of a less appealing task. "I'm going to feed you to the wolves now," the PR woman announced cheerfully, steering him up the stairs towards Anfield's executive lounge. "I'm just going to answer yes and no," Stan Collymore told her, in his West Midlands whine. Not promising, one thought.

promotion and a place in Europe, not to mention a \$6 million profit. But by the time he shook the dust of the City Ground from his feet, Collymore had forfeited the goodwill of his team-mates and the Nottingham public, who welcomed him back in his new colours a few weeks ago with a storm of abuse. His two England caps are no guarantee of a place in the Euro '96 squad; last week he was ominously relegated to standby status for Saturday's game against Hungary. The unesse of his early months at Anfield came to light just before Christmas, when he gave the magazine FourFourTwo an interview in which he expressed dissatisfaction with the way the management had failed either to integrate him into the team's pattern or to give him an idea of what they wanted. "We weren't happy," Roy Evans said on Thursday. "There were things said that we'd prefer to have kept in-house. So I pulled Stan in, and he apologised. But then I thought, yes, there are some relevant points in there. We set down and discussed some of them. First I asked him did he still want to play for Liverpool, because we still wanted him. The answer was yes. So we had a starting point."

to blend into the team, or whether the team should adjust to him. "I think it's got to be a bit of both," Evans concluded. "Some you win and some you lose, but the conversation went well and Stan went out and started to play." For Collymore, the season brightened as he established himself alongside Robbie Fowler in Liverpool's attack. "It's gone exceptionally well," he said this week. "Personally, I've been happy with the way I've played since the turn of the year." His acclimatisation was, said John Barnes, the club's

them before he arrived — Jamie Redknapp, Steve McManaman, people like that." John Scates, another team-mate, observed that too much had been made about Collymore's insistence on keeping his home in Cannock, an hour's drive from Anfield. "When I played for Wimbledon," Scates said, "there were players living in Hemel Hempstead, in Berkshire, all over the place. In London nobody would think twice about it. I don't think anybody cares where someone lives." The real problem, Barnes explained, was Liverpool's

before. So there are times when our teamwork suffers. But we've got so many match-winners that we can win a game even when we're not playing well. And Stan is one of those." "I think he realised that he had to change," Scates said. "Now he drops deeper, picks the ball up, and drifts wide to provide the assists for Robbie and others. It's benefited his all-round game and it doesn't seem to have taken the edge off his scoring." Back in December, Collymore was also critical of Liverpool's patient passing game. Even now, looking ahead to next season's appointments in Europe, he believes patience and possession alone are not enough. "It's not as simple as just holding the ball," he said. "You've got to be able to probe and attack in the right areas. When Brondby came here they defended and said: 'Right, you've got to try and break us down.' The next step is learning how to do that. The chance is there this summer, to watch how the best players in Europe do things."

he said, "and I've developed an understanding with the team, I think that's less and less. As you get older, your perspective changes." Collymore's new positive attitude fits in with his manager's philosophy. "We're starting to grasp the idea that we've got to work hard in English football if we're going to regain our status in Europe," Evans said. "I'd be wrong to say that Stan's the finished article when it comes to the defending side, but he'll get better because he's prepared to learn." Collymore has always been a more altruistic player than his reputation suggests; before Fowler, Bryan Roy often reaped the reward of his vision. But there is nothing like scoring a goal, and Collymore remembers his strikes for Forest against Manchester United with particular pleasure, notably the wonder goal that made Forest the only team to win a league match at Old Trafford in the past two years. He also remembers the eight saves Peter Schmeichel made from him at Anfield last December, "keeping them out with his legs and his shins and all sorts" in a match Liverpool won 2-1. "I think I've played four games against Manchester United and never lost," he said. "So I'm going to Wembley with a lot of confidence. I'm a lot happier now."

I think I've played four games against Manchester United — and never lost

senior pro, just a question of time. And the problems had nothing to do with relationships in the dressing-room — an inevitable assumption, given Collymore's history at Selhurst Park and the City Ground, where the rift grew so wide that he would score a goal and find nobody prepared to shake his hand. "I don't think Stan ever had a problem with the players here in the way he did at Forest," Barnes said. "In fact he was friendly with a lot of

playing style. "If you look at the way Forest play, they give their two attackers the ball and let them get on with it. But at Liverpool we have attacking players all through the side. So Stan wouldn't get as much of the ball, or he would have to do different things, which he found hard. "We've had to adapt to Stan, and Stan's had to adapt to us. This is not a typical Liverpool team. There are more individual match-winners in the side than we've ever had

ourselves, and clubs such as Liverpool and Manchester United, could also get tickets," said Hamer. Police yesterday confirmed that the two people arrested in the NSC raid, Hamer and Jane Morgan, will not face prosecution and Euro '96 will allow them the disputed tickets. "At no time did I give any such authorisation nor intended would it have been my responsibility to do so." He added: "The speculation over my departure has been very troubling to myself and my family." One of the three companies involved is the National Sporting Club. A director, Stephen Hamer, said on Thursday that he met Phillips in June last year and was told there would be tickets available other than through the two avenues the FA had set up. "We were told that other legitimate organisations like

Ward after three years. Ward said: "I was sacked at a six-minute meeting with the vice-chairman Geoff Hurst." Ward steered the West Country side to the Second Division play-offs last season where they were beaten 2-1 by Huddersfield at Wembley but this season they missed out. QPR's former Rovers midfielder Ian Holloway is the favourite to take over as player-manager. Graham Rix, tipped to follow Glenn Hoddle into the senior England set-up, has been drafted in to coach the Under-21 squad in the Toulon tournament from May 24 to June 3. The Chelsea coach has been called in by Dave Sexton as his No. 2 because QPR's player-manager Ray Wilkins is unavailable.

Liverpool's 75-year wait

SO FAR Manchester United and Liverpool have met a dozen times in the FA Cup, writes David Lacey, counting replays and the fact that United began life as Newton Heath. Liverpool have won twice, the last time in the 1920-21 season. This is only the second time the clubs have faced each other in an FA Cup final.

1897-98 Second round (with replay) Liverpool 2, Newton Heath 1 After a 0-0 draw, goals from Wilkie and Cunliffe beat United's forerunners, Collinson scoring for Heath. Liverpool then forced a 1-1 draw at Derby, only to lose 5-1 at home.

1902-03 First round Manchester United 2, Liverpool 1 Two goals from Peddle, to one from Raybould, took United through. Then they went to Everton and lost 3-1.

1920-21 First round (with replay) Manchester United 1, Liverpool 2 Liverpool's last FA Cup victory over United to date followed a 1-1 draw at home. Lacey and Chambers scored the goals, Partridge replying for United, but Newcastle beat Liverpool 1-0 in the next round.

1947-48 Fourth round (at Goodison Park) Manchester United 3, Liverpool 0 After another long gap nothing much had changed. This was United's first outstanding post-war season and goals from Rowley, Morris and Mitten pointed them towards Wembley.

1959-60 Fourth round Liverpool 1, Manchester United 3 By now Bobby Chertton was on the scene and getting two of the goals in this tie with Bradley getting the other. Wheeler scored for Liverpool. But in the next round United went out 1-0 to Sheffield Wednesday.

1976-77 Final Manchester United 2, Liverpool 1 Liverpool were clear favourites to beat Tommy Docherty's team and complete the middle part of a League, FA Cup and European Cup treble. Case, who equalised after Pearson had scored, was outstanding, but Jimmy Greenhoff's deflected shot still won the Cup for United.

1978-79 Semi-final (with replay) Manchester United 1, Liverpool 0 This semi-final produced two gripping games but no break in the prevailing pattern. After a 2-2 draw at Maine Road Jimmy Greenhoff's late header won the replay at Goodison, only for United to lose to Arsenal at Wembley.

1984-85 Semi-final (with replay) Manchester United 2, Liverpool 1 More drama, this time after a 2-2 draw at Goodison with the replay at Maine Road. There, an own goal by McGrath gave Liverpool the lead only for Robson and Hughes to take United back to Wembley, where Whiteside did for Everton.

Chelsea go Dutch as Gullit moves up as player-manager

CHELSEA last night announced the appointment of Ruud Gullit as player-manager in succession to Glenn Hoddle. The Dutchman has been given a two-year contract and his playing contract extended to June 1998. Clive Bertin is taking over on Monday as chairman of QPR following the decision by the chief shareholder Richard Thompson to sell the relegated club. Chris Wright, the 50-year-old chairman of the media company Chrysalis, had been tipped to take over. But he has failed to meet Thompson's asking price. Bertin, who was QPR's football administration manager, takes over the chair from Peter Ellis, who remains a director. Bristol Rovers have parted with their manager John

A N Other

SPEED of reaction and speed of shot, as much as speed of foot, distinguished the career of this Humberider who won two FA Cup medals with different teams. When he was not scoring he was often limping, but he achieved a respectable rate of return during his nine years as tiger and devil. Four years of ironing followed before he retired. (Answer on page 18, column 2) Last week: Arnold Muhren (Tuenste Enschede, Ipswich Town, Manchester United).

ing, but he achieved a respectable rate of return during his nine years as tiger and devil. Four years of ironing followed before he retired. (Answer on page 18, column 2) Last week: Arnold Muhren (Tuenste Enschede, Ipswich Town, Manchester United).

Phillips breaks silence

Martin Thorpe TREVOR PHILLIPS broke his silence over the Euro '96 ticket row yesterday by denying allegations that he approved the sale of tickets to unauthorised companies. And in answer to the question, why then did he resign as the FA's commercial director, his solicitor Nicholas Eitel said: "He thought at the time it was the proper thing to do, right for the FA and the tournament. But now he asks himself 'why did I resign?' because that gesture has been taken the wrong way." In a statement issued through his solicitors, Phillips added: "I was unable to continue in my role following these spurious allegations, but I am sure that I have done nothing to be ashamed of, I very much regret the wild

speculation that has arisen following my departure from the Football Association." Last week's police raid on 11 companies suspected of selling unauthorised hospitality packages for Euro '96 led to three firms claiming that Phillips had cleared them to receive tickets. However, Phillips said yesterday: "I have seen it suggested that I personally have authorised a number of companies, other than the official corporate hospitality agents, Keith Prowse and Sportsworld, to sell tickets for Euro '96 matches. This is untrue. "In respect of the three companies whose premises were raided by the police, who had previously contacted me seeking tickets, I had in each case told them that they or their customers should apply to Synchro Systems, the official ticket agents, for tickets in the usual manner."

"I did not tell them that they were authorised to resell tickets and am very surprised to see it suggested by one report at least that the police consider that the FA have authorised anyone other than Synchro, Keith Prowse or Sportsworld to offer tickets for Euro '96. "At no time did I give any such authorisation nor intended would it have been my responsibility to do so." He added: "The speculation over my departure has been very troubling to myself and my family." One of the three companies involved is the National Sporting Club. A director, Stephen Hamer, said on Thursday that he met Phillips in June last year and was told there would be tickets available other than through the two avenues the FA had set up. "We were told that other legitimate organisations like

ourselves, and clubs such as Liverpool and Manchester United, could also get tickets," said Hamer. Police yesterday confirmed that the two people arrested in the NSC raid, Hamer and Jane Morgan, will not face prosecution and Euro '96 will allow them the disputed tickets. "At no time did I give any such authorisation nor intended would it have been my responsibility to do so." He added: "The speculation over my departure has been very troubling to myself and my family." One of the three companies involved is the National Sporting Club. A director, Stephen Hamer, said on Thursday that he met Phillips in June last year and was told there would be tickets available other than through the two avenues the FA had set up. "We were told that other legitimate organisations like

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FA probes Stubbs deal

Ian Ross and Patrick Glenn FIF A is likely to investigate the deal that made Alan Stubbs the most expensive player in Celtic's history. Within hours of the Bolton Wanderers' defender completing his \$3.5 million move to Parkhead, it was alleged that an unlicensed agent, or agents, had helped broker the deal. Under Fifa's strict code of conduct on transfers, any club that knowingly does business with unlicensed agents faces severe penalties. Clubs, and players, found to be in breach can be suspended from their domestic league and fined heavily.

As Stubbs was being introduced to the media at Parkhead yesterday, an unnamed agent who is officially registered was lodged with the Scottish FA. The complaint is believed to question the part played in Stubbs' transfer by his two financial advisers, Ian and Neil Riach, brothers of the Arsenal manager Bruce Riach. The Football Association was told immediately of developments and will write to Bolton seeking their observations. "We have been made aware of the possible involvement of an unlicensed agent," said the FA spokesman Steve Double. If, after studying Bolton's response, the FA believes there may be a case to answer, all relevant docu-

ments will be forwarded to Fifa's disciplinary section. The transfer ends a 10-month pursuit of Stubbs by Celtic's manager Tommy Burns. The 24-year-old defender has signed a five-year contract and will have cost Celtic around \$5.5 million, including wages, when he completes his scheduled time in Glasgow. Burns is also pursuing Paolo Di Canio, the Milan midfielder, who will be allowed to leave if he can agree terms with Celtic. It is understood the clubs have agreed a fee of just under \$1 million for Di Canio, who has one year left on his contract. Steve Jones, the former West Ham striker, has returned to Upton Park from Bournemouth in a \$200,000 move.

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twist given to Eric's tale... David Lacey... ride... TOTAL 37

SportsGuardian



Cue the action ... Wembley's alternative linesmen mark out the pitch for today's final when Manchester United will attempt to win their second Double in three years TOM JONES

United in search of the final triumph

David Lacey on today's Cup final, which should provide a fitting end to the season

ENGLISH football has earned itself a bonus this season that Wembley and a global television audience will hope to share today. Liverpool and Manchester United, who with Newcastle have done so much to produce the most entertaining championship in years, meet in an FA Cup final that promises to provide a glorious coda.

is not on the bench, hoping to make his last appearance for Liverpool in the grandest setting. Ferguson will reveal his hand only an hour before the kick-off but may well recall Andy Cole, who was recently relegated to the bench after continually missing the sort of scoring chances he was signed from Newcastle to take.

comes to pre-match mind games, is playing his usual trick of keeping the opposition guessing. If Evans's choice of Babb, often a weak link in Liverpool's three-man defence, has been influenced by a concern about Cole's pace Ferguson will have already won an important pre-final victory.

Ferguson's team had hit a trough. They will try to do the same today, and in Robbie Fowler, Stan Collymore and Steve McManaman have an impressive trio of potential match-winners. And Rush, who is likely to be on the bench, also knows a little bit about winning Cup finals.

Today Liverpool's creche ought to be the less nervous of the two. McManaman has the memory of last year's two goals in the Coca-Cola Cup final plus his England appearances to relax him, and if Fowler has a raw nerve it has so far defied detection.

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Man in the middle is no pushover



David Lacey

IT IS reasonably safe to assume that the conclusion of this afternoon's FA Cup final will not be clouded by the sort of cumulonimbus of a controversy that darkened the finish of rugby union's equivalent occasion at Twickenham a week ago.

est hint of a referee being challenged physically came in 1985, when Kevin Moran, Manchester United's normally amiable Irish centre-back, was sent off by Peter Willis for bringing down Everton's Peter Reid when he had a clear run at goal.

Football had only just begun to deal seriously with the professional foul and until Frank Stapleton moved in quickly to intercept Moran's besetting Willis there appeared to be more than an outside chance of the first, and so far the only, player to be sent off in a Cup final taking the law into his own hands. Probably by the throat.

As it happened, United's 10 men went on to win in extra-time with an outstanding goal from that pillar of rectitude, Norman Whiteside. Afterwards Ron Atkinson, then the United manager, said, not altogether wisely, that he had feared a violent crowd reaction if they had lost following Moran's dismissal.

Footballers do silly things. They kick each other from time to time. They have even been known to kick spectators. But while they often argue with referees, instances of officials being manhandled are rare in the upper leagues, although down below, among the beer bellies and wannabes, the picture is less savoury.

ONE thing Wembley will not see this afternoon is a final decided by a hypothetical goal. The rules of rugby allowed Lander to punish Leicester's cynical disregard of them with a penalty try, but in football a goal can only be scored when the ball crosses the line in fact, not theory.

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Guardian COLLINS Crossword 20,650

A copy of the Collins English Dictionary will be sent to the first five correct entries drawn. Entries to Guardian Crossword No 20,650, P.O. Box 315, Mitcham, Surrey, CR4 2AX, by first post on Friday. Solution and winners in the Guardian on Monday May 20.

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Set by Bunthorne

A barred puzzle for a change — clues and solution are normal, just no black squares.

Across

- Hanging not quite good enough for Gilpin (5)
- Natural cover round race-riot (6)
- Might sound sheepish, this male movement of Arab reform (8)
- Epicopal dignity coming out of the woodwork (5)
- Second time condition recurrent in Beethoven's Fifth (5)
- Optimistic old soldiers have it: so does he! (6)
- Horse smuggled out of Ohio (4)

Down

- By and large involved flashy type (5)
- Green-eyed iconoclast informed on by Boer grass (5)
- French setting out the odds all right? One couldn't say (8)
- I can't drink beer though, contrarily, port (8)
- Waterfall catching fire! (5)
- They alter the scales of International maps (5)
- Pot-head cultivating one-for-the-pot-plant genus (4)
- Royal children in trouble with the Purple (6)
- Rise which saw Kennedy's fall (5)
- Rather tasteless inscription on such a stone (5)
- Such incompatible types concur in currency division (8)

34 Jason's aide at both ends of the Mediterranean Sea (5)
35 So swan might give herself a bit of a tonic (5)

Down

- Knight protecting married mum (4)
- Thus an aesthete might sit in a lorry (8)
- Role-swapping accepted by Arthur Daley (4-8)
- Dish up Victory, but no end to War (7)
- Left after Arkwright pruned rose in Picardy (4)
- Fish trappers uncover reels (6)
- One who manipulates rich and poor into cart wheeling (12)
- Emerson's work as inverted, say (5)
- Spin-doctors treated with enemas, doctor (8)
- Course director having to wash up (5)
- Counterfeit map hasn't misguiding (8)
- Poe's hero escaped from a barren cell (8)
- Thief doing time in a top-coat (7)
- A primitive or a sleeping beauty (6)
- France's Tommy rises up around bunker (5)
- Is Cardinal Henry the Elder about? (5)
- One of the unwashed gets into the apple barrel (4)
- Like Cassius, depend on it (4)

CROSSWORD SOLUTION 20,649

C E 1 2 3

Outside politics, he is famous for linking Terry Waite with the CIA and Robert Maxwell with Mossad while lurching the KGB at White's. Inside politics, he is noted for getting up the noses of the Whips and absenting himself from a crucial Maastricht vote — a move which earned him the nickname of The Bermuda Triangle.
Rupert Allason

Outlook

Handwritten signature or mark at the bottom of the page.

The Guardian Outlook

Lady Porter's attempts to 'electorally cleanse' the poor from Westminster are a symbol of Thatcherite arrogance run wild. The ethos of exclusion she so sweepingly applied is still with us, argues DAVE HILL

Shirley's callous climb to power

In the first days following her narrow victory at the 1986 local elections, when her mind was already turning to ways of preventing Labour taking control of Westminster City Council four years hence—or, for that matter, ever again—Dame Shirley Porter received a copy of the Member's Manual. It advised the newly-elected councillors of "the distinction between their official duties and their wider, political role".

The main charges

THE Tories won the 1986 local elections in Westminster by a whisker. Soon after, eight marginal wards—or "battle-zones" as they were called—were identified as key areas where more Tory votes were needed to ensure victory at the following elections in 1990. At secret meetings, Dame Shirley Porter and a small group of colleagues came up with the idea of "designated sales", in plain English, selling council homes in the key wards to people more likely to vote Tory would improve the party's electoral chances.

It is central to Magill's conclusions that Porter and some of her closest colleagues did almost nothing else right from the start. Lady Porter, of course, will have none of it, and on Thursday morning she announced her intention to challenge Magill's findings in the courts. "You would have expected me to, and I shall," she pronounced, trading on her talent for talking a good fight. Well, a girl has her reputation to think of.

She didn't hang about. Within days of the votes being counted in May 1986, Porter had an officer provide her with profiles of the most marginal wards, giving details of population shifts and types of housing tenure. Within weeks it was apparent to her fellow councillor, Peter Hartley, whom she later appointed housing chairman and is now also facing surcharge, that "Shirley was in the driving seat" when it came to disposing of council properties, and that it was "her intention to gain an electoral advantage by selling more properties in marginal wards".



Within a few months Porter was exploring ways of concealing the fact that her policies were to be targeted at certain wards in order to rig the vote instead of being applied, borough-wide, for the good of the community at large.

Porter's enemies claim that every one was devised with gerrymandering primarily in mind, and it may be some time before the auditor can wash his hands of Westminster's affairs. The irony is that there actually was a legitimate case for selectively engineering a change in the authority's pattern of tenure: social cohesion was being damaged by the departure of middle-income households and by increases in two kinds of unstable population, the homeless and business people who had con-

Porter knew who her enemies were—council tenants, people on low incomes, people without a home

advised—guilty of "wilful misconduct" and providing him with "evasive, false and misleading evidence"—less attention has been given to the three council officers caught in the surcharge frame.

Bill Phillips, the managing director (the normal title of chief executive was insufficiently businesslike for Porter's Westminster), Graham England, the director of housing and Paul Hayler, one of England's senior colleagues, appear to have done no such thing. By their failure, they have revealed how hugely important the rectitude of such expert professionals is to the honesty of local government.

housing committee members designed to conceal the key ward strategy from suspicious Labour councillors, reports which, he wrote, would "give a smokescreen for members to hide behind". In short, Magill found that England, Phillips and Hayler knew that what Porter was doing was wrong, but they helped her do it anyway.

Porter's office was routinely swept for bugs and her 'advisers' ascended to her via the goods lift

in Magill's report. He accepted that the Conservatives believed that increasing home ownership was in the public interest and that they were entitled to hold that opinion.

But the complaint which he upholds is that the designated sales policy was "undertaken for the purpose of increasing the vote of the Conservative party in marginal wards in the local government elections in 1990".

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Beyond India's ballot

WHAT IS INDIA? Jawaharlal Nehru spent years trying to answer that question as he shaped India's future. Does the country represent anything vital, he asked from jail in "The Discovery of India", apart from being the home of a vast number of human beings? How does it fit into the modern world? Nehru as Prime Minister provided his own answers, and his daughter Indira Gandhi still seemed on firm ground in declaring that "no one can be an Indian and not be proud". Since then India appears — to many Indians — to have lost its way and blurred its identity. Nehru's Congress, as the chief moulding influence, suffers most from this sense of disintegration. The questions which he posed now have to be put again.

Congress's defeat now is a terminal blow to the party's assumption of a natural right to rule. If it now emerges as the third runner, below the centre-left coalition, its humiliation may be beyond remedy by the resignation of Prime Minister-til-noon Narasimha Rao. If part of it joins a coalition with the centre-left, then

that is the most it deserves. Yet to see what has happened merely in organisational terms is to oversimplify. India has suffered from changes in external factors — both economic and geo-political — over which no government in New Delhi could exercise control. It has also suffered for the opposite reason that a significant part of that external setting — the conflict with Pakistan — has not changed. But the real failure has been at home where the dominant forces in Indian political life, whether or not wearing the Congress label, have failed to grapple with the central issues which confront the bulk of India's 900 million. The current verdict that this election signifies the replacement of "national" by "local" issues is only half true. Rising prices (which put even publicly distributed grain beyond the reach of many poor), chronic water shortages and limping provision of health, education and housing, may be seen in a local context but they are national issues. Mr Rao seemed for a moment to have earned the chance — in the wake of the "hawala" scandal — to adopt corruption as a national mobilising issue. He may have unleashed the criminal investigation in February with that in mind. But the speed with which Congress's own complicity emerged soon ruled out that strategy. It is also a truism that the election demonstrates the rise of regional caste-based politics. Caste consciousness has indeed grown (though unevenly across the nation) as power structures have altered in rural India. But much of the electorate still turns to the local parties more by default than by preference.

The question for India's new government — of any complexion — is whether confidence can be restored, at least to some degree, in the centre's ability to tackle national problems at the local level. Whatever may be said by business analysts or deemed fit by the markets, the new competitive society now being fostered in Delhi shows little sign of taking India out of its impasse. The gulf between the yuppie generation and the vast illiterate population is only superficially bridged by the penetration of hair shampoos in rural shops. As more perceptive Indian observers point out, the expansion of the market does not guarantee the extension of a civil society capable of speaking coherently.

The election result does at least offer a chance of new thinking alongside new alignments. The eventual shape of the coalition will dictate whether such thinking is positive or negative for the future. It is said that both the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party and the centre-left coalition, from opposite political poles, will tend towards more moderate pragmatism in power. That does not diminish the very wide gap between them. In its past origins and present alliances, the BJP still represents a threat to racial tolerance and social harmony. The centre-left may offer an uncertain mix, but it does seek more hopefully to blend modernisation with social justice. Whoever takes over, business as usual will only lead to fresh disaster. As Nehru wrote long ago, if the current task is to build a new house for India's future, then its foundations will have to be dug much deeper.

Tunes of genius

IN ONE of Ivy Compton-Burnett's novels a character remarks of the British Museum reading room that is curious to see a place which is wholly given over to the activity of rearranging the contents of old books into new ones. From Shakespeare to the Duchess of York, the art of creativity has always been dependent on what is politely called allusion and more forcefully described as plagiarism.

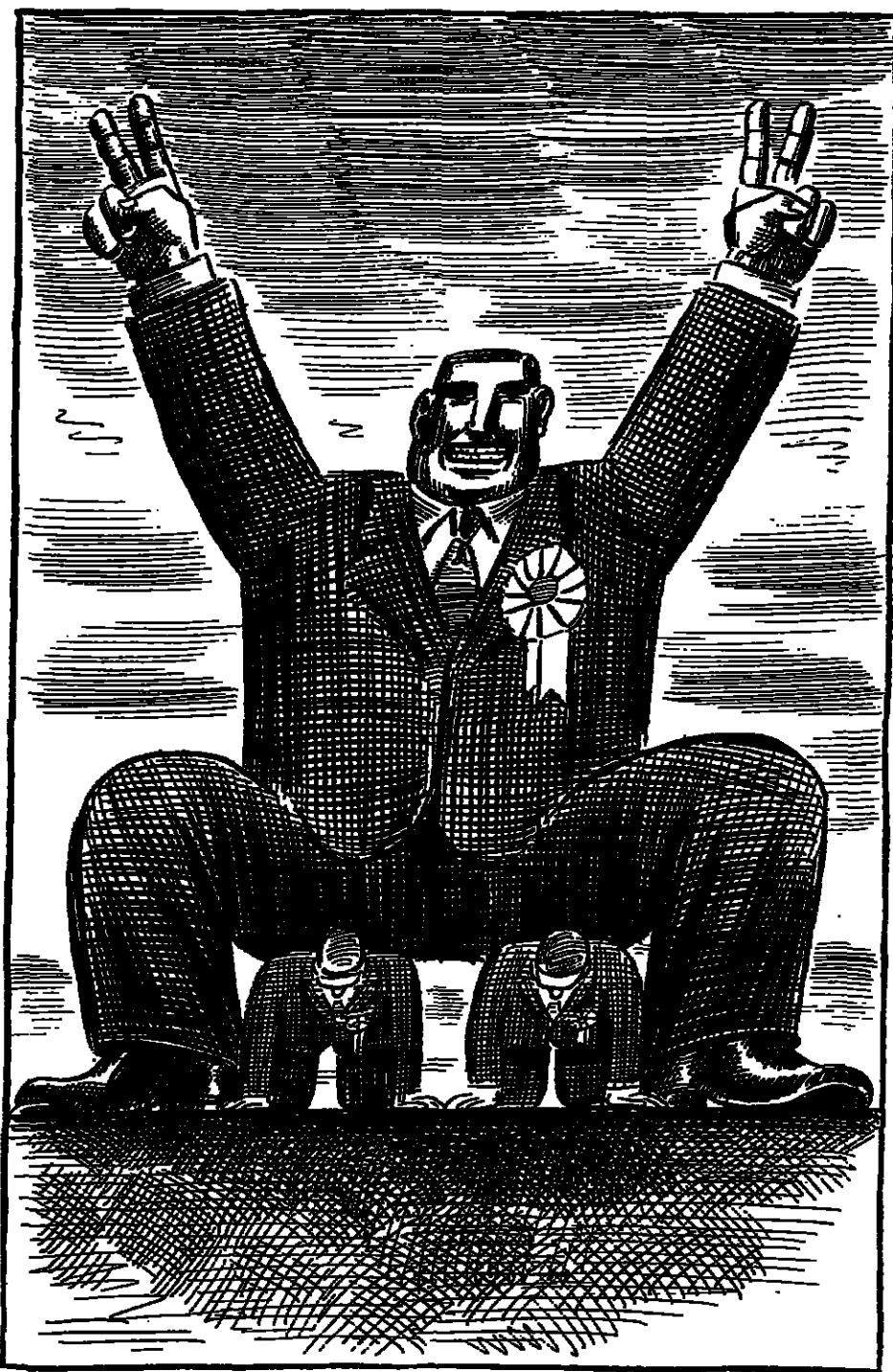
Nevertheless it comes as a bit of shock to learn that even Ludwig van Beethoven was not averse to a bit of thematic borrowing, even to the extent of lifting his single most famous musical phrase, the V-for-Victory motto which dominates the fifth symphony, and from the composer of the Marseillaise at that. Beethoven isn't supposed to do things like that. He embodies the idea of the protean artist, expressing his inner will through music which is heroically his own. He reflects our very image of the uncompromising revolutionary artist, doing it all his own way, indebted to nothing but his own genius. He is the last person we would have imagined to have used, or to have needed to use, other people's ideas when his own were so good in the first place.

And yet, according to the scholar-conductor John Eliot Gardiner in tomorrow night's South Bank Show, Beethoven not only lifted his famous ta-ta-ta-

tum from Rouget de Lisle's Dithyrambic, but he also helped himself to other people's ideas in his sixth and seventh symphonies too. Like Rouget de Lisle, most of these other composers appear to have been writers of high-minded civic music in revolutionary France. The last movement of the Pastoral symphony, for example, which posterity has romantically taken on trust from Beethoven as a shepherd's song of thanksgiving, now turns out to have been based on a little known Hymn to Agriculture composed by the French composer Lefevre.

Mr Gardiner does his best to soften the blow which he has dealt to our illusions by saying that none of this should be seen as plagiarism. "It is the debt genius pays to the second rate. Beethoven transferred ordinary lines of music into something that was sublime," he tells the viewers tomorrow. Which is true, of course, and was nowhere better exemplified than by Beethoven himself in the 33 variations which he wrote on a banal little waltz tune by Diabelli, transforming it in the process into the seed of one of the greatest pieces of keyboard music ever composed. Nevertheless, there is no denying the shock of Mr Gardiner's news. At this rate, it won't be long before someone starts informing us that Bach lifted ideas from Vivaldi, Mozart from Gluck, Liszt from Chopin, Bruckner from Wagner, Elgar from Mendelssohn, Shostakovich from Rossini, or that some of Verdi's best ideas in Aida are filched from a chap he heard in the market one day. Except, of course, that these things all happened too. Et tu, Beethoven.

Following the demise this week of India's old order and South Africa's formerly dominant party, with their patterns of corruption and crash, MARTIN WOOLLACOTT wonders who will fill the power vacuum they leave. Illustration by PETER TILL



Crushing defeats for the mighty

THE idea of alternation in government is often presented as central to democracy. But the fact is that democracies featuring dominant parties are at least as common as two-party or multi-party systems.

The outcome of the elections in India and the withdrawal from government of the National Party in South Africa are a reminder that making democracy work in these conditions may be more important for the world than what happens in states where parties take regular turns at government.

In one, a dominant party has crashed, producing the usual problem of a power vacuum that an untested and disparate opposition may not be able to fill. This in turn can lead to the limbo from which Italy, for instance, has not yet escaped. In the other, a dominant party sets out on its career facing the usual danger that power can be kept so easily that discipline and purpose falter.

The long decline and the ultimate crash are extreme versions of what happens to all political parties everywhere, but they can be crippling when experienced on this scale.

Even in countries where alternation is regarded as normal, long periods in power have become routine, as in Britain, or what had appeared to be a viable second party has withered away, as in Canada. In countries like India, Italy, Japan, Taiwan, Malaysia, and South Africa the dominant party is or has been the standard.

A dominant party is not a single party, as in a communist state, nor a party whose dominance is wholly artificial, as in some tyrannies. It is a party whose majority is natural, usually earned during a time when the nation was in a liberation struggle, or recovering from military defeat.

It is thus a very democratic phenomenon, but the theoretical expectation has been that such parties would not and should not last, as class and regional interests broke up the coalition that held them together.

But they have often lasted, or when finally defeated, the result has often not been a smooth transition to a two- or three-party system. What can happen instead is that a shaly opposition coalition holds power for a time, mismanages things, and then gives way

either to another coalition or to the original party. The classic drama of the dominant party is a long period during which energies and ideals are eroded, and the party loses touch with its popular base. There may be spills in its ranks, occasional successes for opposition parties at the national level, and big opposition successes at the provincial level.

There is almost always serious corruption, there may be political cheating and manipulation on a large scale, and a failure to tackle the tough issues of government. Then comes the crash, as the party is spectacularly punished for its failings, and that can be followed, as it was in India, by one, two, or more recoveries. The overall pattern in some form is probably inescapable.

But the difficulty for the societies experiencing it is how to minimise the damage and keep a vigorous democratic life in being.

This is the task that now faces South Africa. Serious students of the South African situation, like Stanley Uys, have predicted that a formidable opposition will in time emerge out of the black townships. The result could be either that the African National Congress will be flanked by opposition parties to the left and right, or that the ANC will split, leading to a broad left party and a broad right party contending for power. Such shifts may or may not take place, but, in any case, what to do in the meantime? The ANC answer has been to set up checks and balances in the political system, many incorporated in the new

constitution, to propose a much more combative role for parliamentary committees than in other countries, and to emphasise its own tradition of internal democracy.

The opposition parties have already assigned themselves a watchdog role. The National Party, out of government, can now pursue this, as well as the attempted rebuilding of its own white constituency, without having to worry about the responsibilities of sharing power with the ANC. Some believe that the National Party and the Democratic Party, the pro-business, "English" party, could eventually merge and might even develop some serious appeal to black voters.

Yet, as Kader Asmal, one of the ANC's most able ministers, reasonably maintains, an opposition can't be "confected".

The best guarantee of democracy in South Africa lies, with politics, in constitutional checks and the internal democracy of the ANC, and outside politics, in the autonomy of institutions like the universities, the churches, and the press.

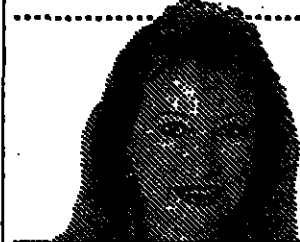
But here is where the critics are already at work, noting that ANC decision-making is less consultative than it used to be, and that the new parliamentary committees have on occasion been browbeaten into avoiding planned investigations. It remains to be seen, too, whether the balance between provincial and central powers will produce a healthy tension or not. As for the autonomy of civil society, again the critics warn that affirmative action could develop in such a way as to subordinate institutions to the ruling party. Fortunately, there is something about South African society — a certain sturdiness and common sense across the racial lines — that suggests there are natural limits to what can go wrong.

India, on the other hand, has the problem that comes at the other end of the time scale. Its ruling party, after 50 years, has lost its commanding position. The Congress that are such a lynchpin in South Africa have achieved full political expression in India, as the Congress Party has lost both a segment of better-off Hindu society and many of the votes of the very poor. Without pushing parallels too far, the one might be deemed to be the rough equivalent of a not yet politically conscious black lower middle class in South Africa, and the other of the township poor in that country.

Looking back, India's democracy has worked in the sense that most groups in Indian society have found ways of using the system to advance their interests. Indian politics may now revolve for a time around the containment of the Hindu chauvinism represented by the Bharatiya Janata Party, whether by involving them in the exigencies of coalition government or keeping them in opposition. Meanwhile, it seems unlikely that corruption on the scale recently discovered will continue. The international revolution of the judges has reached the sub-continent and is probably irreversible.

One Indian MP noted recently how few members of the Congress Party still wear kadi, the homespun cloth tunic and trousers that were a symbol of the party's dedication to uplifting the poor. He meant by that to indicate that the party had drifted away from its most important mission. In South Africa, there is no kadi, but the critical questions for the dominant party are the same — how to avoid the erosion of democratic practice that comes with long years in power, and how to live the basic task of altering the life chances of the poorest part of society.

Allason in blunderland



Mary Riddell

Poor Rupert Allason. The shame. The ignominy. How gallingly to build up a reputation as a world-famous spy writer only to have one's flaws and failings ruthlessly exposed by a tabloid newspaper.

Allason, as followers of political scandals will know, this week gained *not* points for tradecraft when the Daily Mirror discovered a parking ticket naming a certain beach on his car windscreen and thus discovered him reclining on a Riviera sunlounger with a woman who is not his wife.

So what, you are asking? This is not a story about espionage. Instead it is another of those sizzling Tory sex scandals traditionally served up with steaming side-orders of justification and moral outrage.

Revenge, on the other hand, is a dish best eaten cold. Suffice to say that the latest addition to the extensive menu of Conservative sleaze was at best half-baked. Consider the ingredients: after four years' wrangling, Allason loses his High Court action for malicious falsehood against the Mirror and departs for a bit of R and R in the South of France, whence he is pursued by the newspaper's representatives.

What delicious retribution for the paper to discover him and his violinist friend, Jane Burgess, relaxing on a beach and to be able to spy on their holiday weekend. Fair game? Only up to a point. Lord Copper, Allason remains married, although he now describes himself as estranged from his wife. But he is not part of the Conservative moral majority, preferring instead to plough a maverick course.

Outside politics, he is famous for linking Terry Waite with the CIA and Robert Maxwell with Mossad while lunching the KGB at White's. Inside politics, he is noted for getting up the noses of the Whips and absconding himself from a crucial Maastricht vote — a move which earned him the nickname of the Bernardini Triangle. In the Conservative pulpit of family values, he is an equally ephemeral presence.

Society, it is fair to say, looks to Rupert Allason for moral guidance in the same way as it looks to John Major for nursery places for all.

True, he has described himself as a family man, but his protagonist in this case regards himself as a family newspaper. I cannot think of a family in the land wishing to read six pages of minutely-detailed PC Plod narrative describing Allason's tedious trek from his luxury hotel room (complete with four-poster bed and sunken bath) to the seaside and back, with the beach bar price-list, naturally extorted, lobbed in for good measure.

This is not to condone low standards among MPs. Far from it. But this was not a post back-to-basics story exposing gross hypocrisy or blatant lack of judgement. Instead it bore the uncomfortable whiff of a vendetta while saying nothing new about the abysmal standards of morality within the Conservative Party.

Two dangers: the first is that the currency of exposure stories is instantly devalued if the newspaper concerned appears to be working to a personal agenda only loosely tethered to the public interest.

And the second is that those Tory MPs who leapt to their colleague's defence may regretfully, but possibly rightly, feel themselves safer and better justified in committing indiscretions far more relevant to the electorate.

Perhaps this tawdry story might be regarded as a no-score draw from which no one emerges with any great credit. So is there a lesson to be learned? Only that since the great spycatcher has previously mentioned himself in the same breath as his namesake, Rupert Brooke, he might henceforth remind himself that there is some part of a foreign beach that is forever Canary Wharf and brush up accordingly on cold war tactics.

A picture accompanying the revelations failed to reveal the title of his holiday paperback. I trust it was a *Le Carré*.

I SUSPECT the Queen is less upset by the new portrait depicting her as a jaundiced-looking pensioner than its detractors might hope. On the contrary, I imagine Her Majesty, a busy and thrifty woman commissioned it just so, on the same economical principle as buying children school uniform three sizes too big. Easy on the make-up, heavy on the wrinkles, and one won't have to bother with another for the next 20 years.

Smallweed



WILLIAM COLBY'S hit-and-miss cadaver may have turned up this week, but conspiracy theories surrounding the death of the former CIA chief will march on. Vengeful agency die-hards,

even more vengeful KGB veterans, US government death squads, all will be squeezed into the frame. In a contrary spirit, Smallweed offers a man with a perfect motive to have a crack at Colby, but who didn't do it. He didn't need to — he had taken his revenge 20 years earlier.

John Ehrlichman, domestic policy adviser to President Nixon from 1969 to 1973, served 18 months' imprisonment for his part in the burglary of a psychiatrist's office in 1971. The shrink had been treating Daniel Ellsberg, leaker of the so-called Pentagon Papers and a priority smear target for the White House. Ehrlichman had requested CIA help in the operation, a fact disclosed to Watergate investigator Henry Fetersen at the end of 1972 by one William Colby, then CIA deputy executive director. It was the beginning of

Ehrlichman's descent into disgrace and jail. Released from prison, he wrote a best-selling roman à clef *The Company* (Simon & Schuster, 1976), all about the Nixon presidency, which was televised as *Washington Behind Closed Doors*. Within the first 15 minutes, the CIA chief (Cliff Robertson) grants a wesselly subordinate Bernie Tibbitts (Richard Gates) a free hand to wipe out Vietcong hide-aways. At the end of episode one, Tibbitts reports his "progress", with the help of a film depicting appalling brutality against civilians. Tibbitts boasts of his interrogation techniques: "We took two slants up 5,000 feet in a chopper, threw one of them over the side, the other one told us."

None of this seems to have much to do with the plot and, indeed, it doesn't. But you have to remember that Tibbitts, sorry Colby, provided

over Operation Phoenix, the clandestine American campaign during which 20,000 alleged Vietcong members were slaughtered. So there it is: a non-conspiracy conspiracy. Could any Watergate buff ask for more?

WHAT a May Day/ May Bank it was, and we refer not only to Month Zero of Arthur Scargill's Barmley Rouge movement but also to the sometimes-intriguing, almost coded, greetings exchanged by the comrades. There they are in the pages of *Tribune*: Leominster Labour Party supports "Campaign Against Arms Trade's [sic] resistance to ARMS TRADE intimidation". Why the capitalists' Glasgow Maryhill branch is "continuing to Support Common Ownership", while modestly prompts Alex Smith "MEP" to declare he is "Working for Peace and Socialism in

Europe". Earlier aspirations are expressed by the Communication Workers Union, looking forward to "secure employment in a first-class Post Office", and the Musicians' Union sounds an uncertain note with its call: "Don't Let Music Become the NHS of the nineties."

Meanwhile, key planks of Arthur's programme (a job for life, retirement on full pay at 55, a four-day week) suggest he may after all have learned something from his old adversaries, the police.

Now for A-Watch, our very own Colby-style search-and-destroy mission against "inappropriate" detects some choice examples. The Foreign Office on Monday, for example, warns that expulsion of British spies (sorry, diplomats) from Moscow would meet an "appropriate response", or Margaret Hodge,

Labour member for Barking, writing in the *Times* on April 29 of the "inappropriate solutions" offered by private kindergartens.

The classic, however, emerged from New York, where black American leaders are suing Club Med for "entertaining" them with a minstrel show last year in Senegal. We can hardly wait. Suggestions already trickling out of Mrs Bottomley's ministry make much of the good things that may appear as a result of privatisation (sorry, fruitful public-private collaboration): there may be cafés, shops, music libraries, perhaps even the odd *The Rack* or two. Yes, yes, but what about the poor sodding books?

Dispiriting though it may be to expect the worst, a foretaste of Private-Lib (or British-Lib, or OffLib) is to be found in poet Don Paterson's debut *Nil Nil* (Faber, 1993), where he browses the shelves of the worst library in the world: "16 RPM Selective Discography/ Diabetic Desserts All the Family Will Low... Urine — The Water of Life... The Volapuk Scout Manual; old sick notes, staff memoranda on Portion Control". But the greatest horror is still to come: "The Poems of Erich von Daniken."

BATHWIGAN has blazed the way in "code fusion" and this exciting new scientific process should now be applied

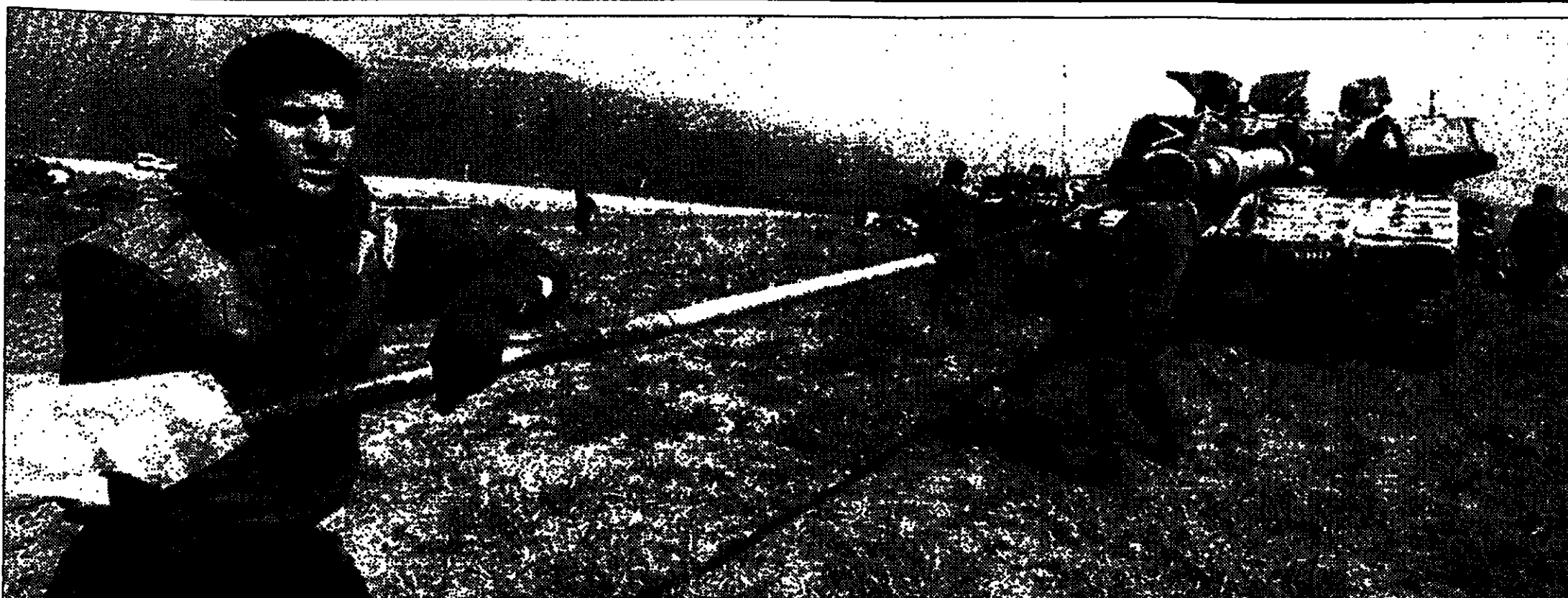
to the healing of divisions in far more important areas of sportmanship. The reunification of the Baccarat family, for example, will be a task equal to reversing the effects of the Big Bang. Punto banco, shemmy, and the upstart Super Pat spin-off into the furthest reaches of card-playing, prompting ever-thicker reference books explaining the multiplying sets of rules.

For the code fusion bon-fins, the challenge is not merely to bring back these lost sheep, but simultaneously to reunite *ving-et-un*, pouton and blackjack. Then the Ritz can host a showdown of Bath-Wigan proportions between the legendary blackjacker Kerry Packer and a modern-day *Le Chiffre* of baccarat. It will be too bad for the rulebook publishers, of course, but we used to say in Craven Park, you can't blame Hull Kings-ton Rovers for that.

July 20 1990

Operation Grapes of Wrath was a tactical disaster for Israel's politicians and military. But beneath the official excuses and bluster DEREK BROWN senses a new mood of vindication

Shell shock... Clockwise from right, Israeli soldiers prepare their guns; UN soldiers cover Qana victims; Fatma Ismail cries over her injured son, Ali, four



Gunners' cover is blown

THERE was a time, not so long ago, when Israeli soldiers bragged about "pinpoint strikes". Reporters covering Operation Grapes of Wrath from the Israeli side were encouraged to visit batteries of Israeli 155mm self-propelled guns and the sophisticated radar installations which guided the shells.

That was the day before Israel's state-of-the-art military machine slaughtered 102 Lebanese refugees in a United Nations camp at Qana, and the Grapes of Wrath turned sour. It was, at the very least, a callous, cavalier cock-up. But the slather of official inconsistencies, contradictions and downright lies which followed has reinforced another view, the UN view, that the bombardment of Qana was deliberate.

Between five and eight mortar rounds were fired from only 200 yards south-west of the compound. They were the cause of the subsequent horror. According to the Israeli version, still being dutifully reproduced in some papers, "a couple of rounds" of return fire unfortunately overshoot the target and landed in the Qana camp. Another, scarcely more credible, version is that there was an error in the map at Northern Command, which sanctioned the firing.

AN Israeli artillery expert, with long experience of operations in south Lebanon, told the Guardian that in firing over hills and ridges, there was always a risk that some shells would narrowly miss the target and land some distance beyond on lower ground. That was why, he thought, two shells had hit Qana. The former officer was plainly astonished to learn that no fewer than eleven shells exploded on or above the compound and four more close by.

Moreover, according to the van Kappen report, during the six minutes or so of carnage, the weight of shelling actually shifted from the mortar-firing site, towards and into the UN compound. Another damning feature of the UN report is its inclusion of an amateur videotape clearly showing an Israeli Remotely Piloted Vehicle (RPV) or drone aircraft, operating in the Qana area.

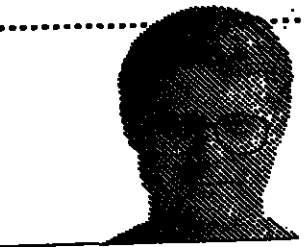
The tape soundtrack, which captures the sound of shelling and the RPV engine, reinforces the belief that the drone, equipped with a real-time television transmitter, was used to direct the artillery fire. "The Israeli army which vehemently denied having a drone in the Qana area until the existence of the UN video was revealed, belatedly showed some of the pictures it recorded, allegedly after the event. One of the images was particularly striking, a powerful zoom in on the main compound, which showed black smoke and vivid flames billowing out of a building. That picture, Lt Col "B" insisted, was recorded at precisely 2.30pm.

That is, 17 minutes after the last shell landed on Qana. And yet the tape shows no human activity of any kind in the compound. No survivors trying to escape. No wounded being aided. No stretchers. No fire-fighting. No sign at all, beyond the column of smoke and fire, that more than 100 people have just been blown to bits or incinerated.

Israel from its post-Qana diplomatic plight, offers little beyond the 1983 understanding that civilians should not be targeted. Yet in Israel there is little sense of the futility of the exercise, let alone remorse. This is how two of the most respected journalists in the land summed it up, in the popular daily Yedioth Ahronoth: "Between 50 to 80 terrorists were killed in the operation. That is more than Israel manages to wipe out in one year. There were no casualties in the Israeli side. Two were severely wounded, and dozens more were sent home from hospital. The price to Israel was mainly economic. All in all, aside from the horror at Kfar Kana (sic), it was a deplorable operation. For an even cruder view of a crude little war which killed up to 200 people, there is the comment of an army gunner, in the Jerusalem weekly, Kol Ha'Ir. He said: "It's a war. In a war these things happen. It's just a bunch of Arabs."

THE few laments which have been heard about Grapes of Wrath, have mostly concerned Israel's failure to eliminate Hizbullah, or drive a harder ceasefire bargain. Prime minister Shimon Peres — still consistently though narrowly ahead in the opinion polls in the run-up to general elections on May 29 — has hardly been damaged. Yet there are voices of dissent, among them Arieh Shavit writing in the daily Ha'aretz. His analysis of what happened at Qana will no doubt be dismissed by the more ardent conspiracy theorists as yet another excuse for Israel. But it is more damning, and more damning, than any amount of military fumbling with the truth. He wrote of Grapes of Wrath: "We did not kill all these people in a fit of hot passion. Not from Messianic extremism and not in nationalist ecstatic fervour. We killed them incidentally... How easily we killed them, without shedding a tear. Without establishing a commission of inquiry. Without filling the streets with protest demonstrations. It would seem that we have grown up quite a lot, as this time we shot and didn't cry. "We killed them with a kind of yuppie efficiency. We believe with absolute certitude that right now, with the White House in our hands and the New York Times in our hands, the lives of others do not count in the same way as our own."

Defence of an icon who still inspires



Martin Kettle If the religion of British socialism has a presiding saint, then it is surely William Morris. No one else in this country's socialist history inspires fiercer loyalty or passion. Not Tom Mann. Not even Bevan. Only Orwell can come close to him. You could attack any of these others and get away with it, especially now that the left has lost so much of its self-belief. But Morris is different. He may not have been a particularly nice man, but he is the one icon of British socialism to have survived undiminished by time, the one socialist in our history who seems somehow still to be living today, speaking directly to us even 100

years after his death. To attack Morris is a profanity too far against the socialist heritage. If he did not know that beforehand, then Deyan Sudjic must certainly realise it now, after his death against Morris in this paper on May 3. For those who missed it, Sudjic's essential case was that Morris was hopelessly torn between nostalgia for an imaginary past and a visionary longing for an anti-modern utopia. Adding a few well-placed insults, in particular the charge that Morris was the inspiration for Poi Pot's Year Zero. Sudjic retired to a well-earned, enviable bombardment from outraged readers which then followed.

The readers have made their case powerfully, and it isn't my intention to repeat what they said in their letters. I am not a Morris expert and in any case I think it is a mistake to imagine either that anyone ever got everything right or that a man who lived more than a century ago can provide us with a hand-me-down set of answers to all of today's problems. What I would say, however, is that Morris's priorities remain astonishingly contemporary, in a way which is not true of the more narrowly political or economic socialist writers of that era. I don't overlook the trenchant polemic against industrial capitalism, but Morris's preoccupation with, as one of his essays puts it, How We Live & How We Might Live, places him much closer to our own mental universe than do the writings of, for instance, Marx.

My own dissatisfaction with Sudjic's article is not so much concerned with Morris as such, but with the very important charge which he makes against Morris and, by implication, many others too. Sudjic says that Morris's chief fault is to combine nostalgia with utopianism, that his vision of the future was rooted within a vision of the past, and that it is not desirable to look backwards and forwards at the same time. The inference, if I read him correctly, is that the art of the future and the society of the future can only be truly effective if they break with the past altogether. I do not see how this can possibly be correct. It is surely the case and I hope it is clear that we are talking about far more than wallpaper design here — that the new can only ever be built upon the lessons of the old.

Whether as individuals in our personal lives, or as artists in our expressive lives, or as societies which are trying to come to terms with the challenges of public policy, we always emerge from our past to count on our future. It is a fundamental illusion to believe that you can create anything without roots or foundations. These roots and foundations are what we inherit, but we can never escape them. They aren't optional. They are like our own DNA. They determine the kind of changes that we can make in the future. I cannot see anything wrong in Morris creating a vision of the future in News From Nowhere that bears such an uneasy resemblance to the Cotswolds, when that is where he lived and was the world he loved. The failure would have been to have slipped into science fiction, creating a world wholly detached from what he knew. In many respects, this is the biggest issue of them all. Rich-

ard Wagner, like Sudjic, was all for the creation of a wholly new art. His constantly reiterated injunction to his followers was to do something new. But Wagner's greatest insight was that you cannot create the new without the inspiration of the old. And it is absolutely and profoundly true. Last this appears to be a rather obscure bobby-horse, let's be clear what it implies in terms of politics. It says that there is no way that you can create a good society, a good institution or a good policy by simply razing the old to the ground and starting from scratch. That is the great illusion of the early 20th century. It is where the Bolsheviks went wrong, at massive cost not just to Russia but to the credibility of socialism generally. That is one reason, for example, why it is misleading to say that Labour is proposing the end of the welfare state. It is certainly proposing to change it, and to recommitment in a very different form from what it may inherit. Those changes may, in the end, involve very hard choices about priorities. But you can no more end the welfare state than you can end religion or the aesthetic superiority of a curve over a straight line. To say that William Morris looked backwards and forwards at the same time is simply to say that he was a human being, and that he was right that, because he is so explicit and vigorous about acknowledging it in his own case. But in this respect he is so very different from John Major, trying to recreate the happy south London of the 1950s which so clearly haunts his own imagination? We all do it. We are all right to do it. There is no way that we can or should stop doing it. We today must do it our way, as best we can, in the way that makes sense for us. But if we are looking for a mind to emulate, an imagination to live up to, then there are few better models still than William Morris.

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No votes for Dame Shirley

DOES anyone seriously believe that Shirley Porter and the others searched for their conduct in Westminster will ever have to pay up (Porter faces £31m bill, May 10)? I can guarantee that the court proceedings will be presided over by a tame Tory judge who will find some get-out for them all.

Any public outcry this might cause will not matter because the other certainty is that the legal process will be prolonged until after the general election.

(Rev) Derrick W Cooling, Church Hill, Fulring, Essex CM3 8QH.

ONE wonders how democracy is to be restored in Westminster Council. If majority rule is its defining criterion, patently then, to engineer a majority is to undermine democracy. The Tories in Westminster apparently did not appreciate that the crucial assent in democracy is the assent of the minority. Unwillingness to be a minority marks out the sectarian who sees elections not as the expression of the "organic" unity of a people but as a power struggle.

As a result of the Tories' "houses for votes" there are areas of Westminster where nobody cares what the greater number of people think.

F Griffiths, 25 Fulmar Drive, Sale, Cheshire M33 4WH.

DON'T recall any reluctance on the part of government ministers to condemn the Birmingham Six during their long process of appeal. Perhaps the fact that they were waiting in prison for their appeal to be heard made it a bit more confusing. Lady Porter and her colleagues have found guilty of serious crimes, but they have the luxury of

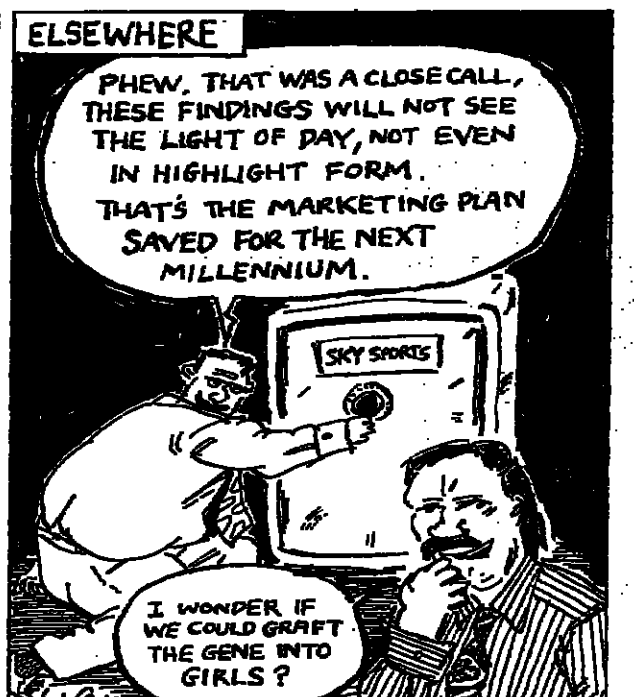
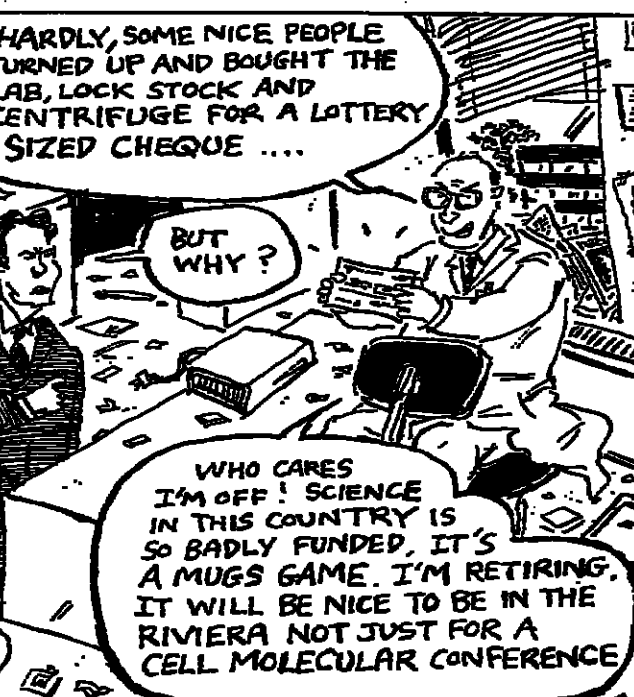
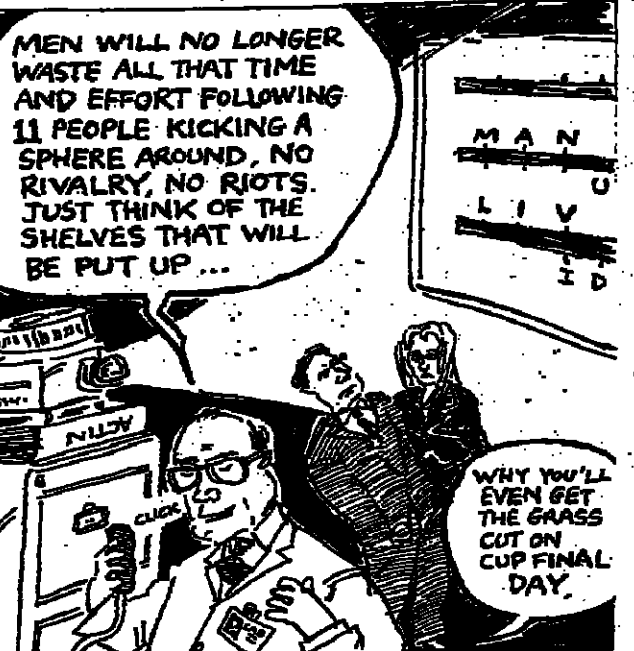
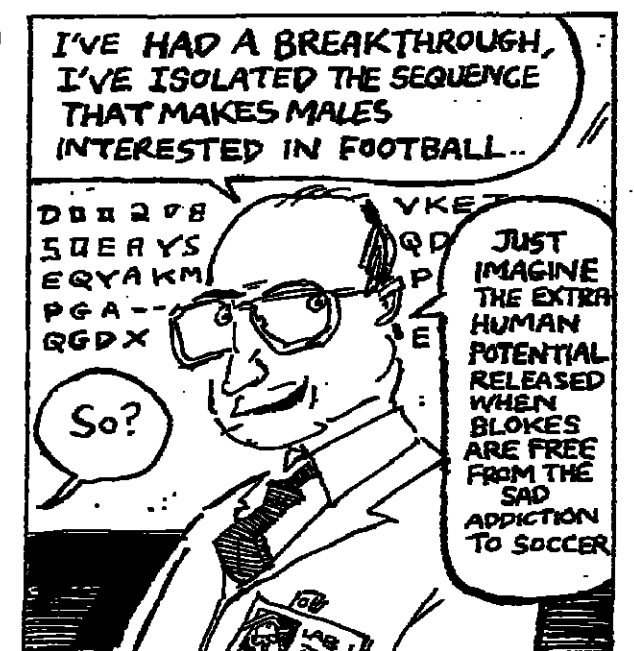
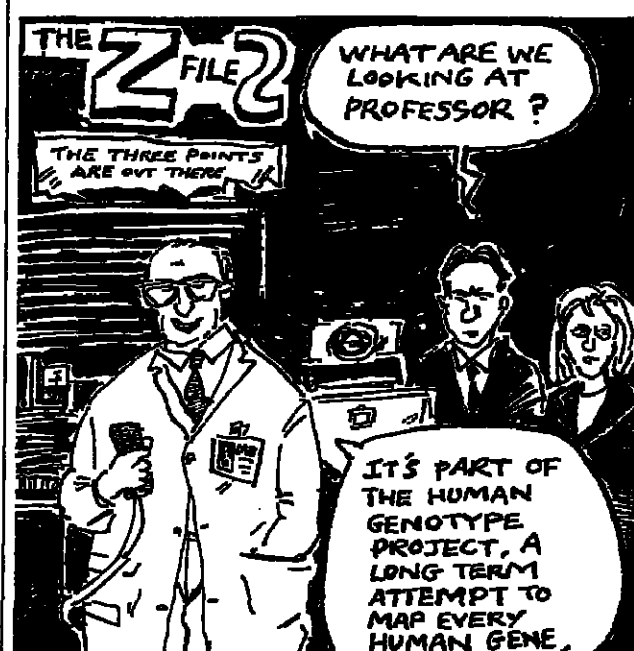
being able to appeal from the comfort of their own homes. Ian Seville, 41 Plympton Road, London NW6 7EH.

THE issue of housing policy may come to haunt the second Tory flagship of Wandsworth as much as their neighbours in Westminster. Wandsworth Council have rejected the limited proposals from John Major on affordable housing and instead have recommitted themselves to allowing only supply and demand to determine rents for council and private housing.

Rents will now rise to the point where the council and the private landlords' ability to exploit people's need for a home meets their tenants' ability to pay rent without starving. Any hardship is expected to be met by housing benefit — as ever, a Tory flagship seeks government subsidies for political experiments. Martin Smith, Secretary, Battersea and Wandsworth Trades Union Council, 177a Lavender Hill, London SW11 7TE.

DAAME Shirley's view of council work in Stow-on-the-Wold is old-fashioned. As the Cotswold Council spends enormous sums each year in persecuting the gypsies who attend its two annual horse fairs, she is struggling to create a suburban dormitory town with Cotswold trimmings. Dame Shirley's experience of persecuting those without influence would prove invaluable.

And the fact that the council has rolled over and is allowing a large Tesco to be built to dominate Stow's outskirts must surely be a plus point in Dame Shirley's estimation. Anne Jenkin, Grange Farm Studios, Brockhampton, Andoverford, Cheltenham GL54 5XQ.



Only rationing will cure the NHS

DAVID BRINDLE'S discovery of the financial crisis facing many NHS trusts is old hat (Warning of 'meltdown' in NHS market as trusts resist squeeze, May 7). NHS executives and observers have for months been comparing the 1995-97 financial situation with 1987-88. The NHS "balanced its books" in 1995-96 because underspending on primary care (eg, by GP fundholders) was sufficient to meet the overspend of trusts, many of which are unable to meet their 6 per cent return on assets.

During the last five years, activity in NHS trusts has risen by 18 per cent with relatively little extra spending. However, whether the trusts can maintain these remarkable "efficiency savings" is unclear. The next financial year offers trust chief executives a nice choice. If they focus on emergency cases, they may have insufficient funds for

elective cases and waiting times will rise. Mr Dorrell is unlikely to welcome this in an election year and his commissioners in the regions are likely to make bureaucrats' lives unpleasant.

However, the real issue that will emerge is rationing. Isn't it time it was accepted that the issue is not whether to ration (it happens all the time) but how? Shouldn't there be a public debate about the principles which determine who will live, in what degree of pain and discomfort, and who will die?

It is these issues, rather than the belated discovery of trust overspend, on which the media might usefully focus and, in so doing, embarrass politicians who will not grapple with this reality. Fred Alan Maynard, Secretary, Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust, 59 New Cavendish Street, London W1M 7RD.

Why the euro is losing currency

YOUR headline (European single currency opposed by two out of three Britons, May 9) expresses the view that the number now against EMU is a sensation. Surely the only amazing thing is that with almost the entire written media now against a single currency — either hysterically like the Mail and Times, or slightly more subtly like the Guardian — anyone at all remains for it. Where are the 20 per cent still for it getting their information from?

Those on the left, like yourselves, want to peddle the Euro-sceptic line owe their readers answers to several questions. First, what exchange-rate policy do they suggest if we keep out of EMU? The ERM experience shows that fixed but adjustable rates cannot work. I fail to see how the only viable option, floating exchange rates, leads to a more stable economy, let alone one where centre-left values come to the fore.

Second, given the doubts that we all have about Maastricht, are we more likely to get them altered and find positive interpretations of the Maastricht ambiguities in or out of EMU? Lastly, since the only

reason for staying out is to keep open the option of devaluing, can you come clean that your view of the UK's future is constantly to devalue, and that you believe that the cost of keeping this dubious option open, higher interest rates, is worth it in the medium term. Let's get some sensible debate going before the whole of Britain gets itself into a lather of anti-EU sentiment that leads us nowhere useful. Dan Corry, Senior Economist, Institute for Public Policy Research, 30-32 Southampton Street, London WC2E 7RA.

POLITICIANS are coy about the real European debate. They talk in terms of pro-Europe or anti-Europe, not about what sort of Europe we would like to share. Economic and monetary union without parallel commitment to social rights and social protection is producing a more and more divided Europe — divided between richer and poorer, and by an increase in knee-jerk nationalism. It is a powder-keg Europe.

The task of promoting British entry into the EC, while the government was negotiating for it. Public-opinion polls at

Moscow leaks intelligence on expelled British spies

WITH regard to the arrest of a Russian citizen found to have been working for British intelligence (TIT for tat spy threat, May 7): the agent was caught red-handed in the act of communicating intelligence data to the SIS station head in Moscow. He had equipment for sending encoded messages.

During interrogation, according to information obtained by RIA-Novosti, he admitted his criminal connection with British intelligence and supplied detailed information concerning his recruitment by and subsequent co-operation with the SIS.

RIA-Novosti also has data to indicate that the Russian SIS agent worked in the federal government and had access to state secrets of a political and defence nature. He spied for financial rather than for ideological reasons.

The document supplied to British Ambassador, Sir Andrew Wood, contained a list of nine Britons and detailed their connections with the Russian agent. The nine are career intelligence officers, not diplomats, according to Alexander Zdanovich.

There has been an extensive record of Britons spying on Russia. In July 1965, G Brook received a five-year sentence from Moscow City Court, having been convicted of spying. Twenty years on and the Soviet authorities expelled six Britons for "activities incompatible with their official status." Another four years and three British journalists working in the USSR were declared persona non grata and 11 British Embassy staffers were expelled.

Take also the summer of 1989 when listening devices were extricated from the walls of two London apartments occupied by Soviet Embassy officials. One British news analyst at the time admitted then that over 60 "bugs" had been found in the Soviet trade mission. Foreign Office officials of course denied any offi-

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Published by the European Medical Journal

Tabloid corner

FAR be it from me to venture a diagnosis at a distance, but is Frances Whelan beginning to show some signs of being obsessed with me (When's world, May 8)? The true obsessionist is very concerned to get things exactly right, which is certainly not a prominent feature of Mr Whelan's writings — he has yet again accused me of slipping psychiatric diagnoses on celebrities in my writings on the national press. In fact, not only have I never done this, but Mr Whelan himself follows consistently to provide any examples. I have had to write on two previous occasions to the Guardian to correct his desperately selective and inaccurate rate of my pieces to support his speculations.

NHS workers like myself are curious that a newspaper like the Guardian seems only to promote the views of therapists with no qualifications in psychology and psychiatry (and hence who work only in private practice) while it seeks inaccurately to attack those who work in the NHS. I wonder what message is really being sent to the public? (Dr) Raj Persaud, (MSc MPhil MRCPsych), Consultant Psychiatrist, Warrington Park Hospital, Warrington, Surrey CR6 9YR.

I AM flattered to be quoted in your "Talking Dirty" column (Women, May 9), in which I expressed the view that what mothers want for their sons are good wives rather than tough, competitive women. But the textual coherence was incomplete. I added "We don't want them hanging around with the kind of bad girls that some of us used to be." I am aware that media-studies students use the Guardian as a source, and if I am to be deconstructed I wouldn't want the jokes omitted. Mary Kenny, 245 Blackfriars Road, London SE1 1LX.

FOR 10 years I have attempted, unsuccessfully, to resist the Inland Revenue taxing my mileage allowance.

MPs' deal fuels road rage

LAST year I gave a course of 10 lectures for the Workers' Educational Association and was paid 20p a mile for travelling expenses. Unfortunately, the Inland Revenue (Letters, May 10) insists on the WEA's extracting income tax from the expenses, even though my main place of work is my home and my travelling falls precisely within the terms of the legislation in that the expenses were incurred wholly, exclusively and necessarily in the performance of my duty.

The Inspector remains intransigent, even dismissing my arguments with barely concealed contempt in describing my work as not being "work" in the normally accepted sense.

It's an interesting contrast with the 20 or so Conservative MPs on 74p a mile expenses, paid out of my paltry contributions, who have got away with a tax amnesty of about £400,000 from the Revenue — even though some of them were apparently using company cars and claiming parliamentary expenses. What is more, ministers included an exemption in the Finance Act for their own journeys from home to work, while many of us suspect their work would be done more competently if they did stay at home.

It is pleasant to read that some citizens can get one over on the Revenue all the same, but what would you suggest I do to resolve my little spat with them? Should I go along to have a quiet word with the Chancellor? Perhaps he could sort out my local inspector for me and put him right about what is work and what is not work.

J R Tench, 5 Gray Close, Sutton on the Forest, North Yorkshire YO6 1DQ.

FOR 10 years I have attempted, unsuccessfully, to resist the Inland Revenue taxing my mileage allowance.

Not Condon-ed

SIR Paul Condon's reaction to the recent awards of substantial damages against the Metropolitan Police is deeply disappointing. By blaming lawyers for increasingly pursuing such claims, and juries for their awards, he appears to ignore the message which the juries hoped to send him.

It is true that the number of civil actions against the police has increased dramatically in the last decade. This reflects increasing disenchantment with the complaints procedure and growing awareness of civil actions as an effective remedy for victims of police misconduct.

Damages paid out by the Metropolitan Police have increased fourfold in the last 10 years because a large proportion of actions has been settled by the police or won by plaintiffs in court. Juries are entitled to award exemplary damages in any case where there is arbitrary or oppressive behaviour. The purpose of the award is to mark the jury's disapproval of the actions of the officers involved. If a jury finds that officers have not only assaulted a plaintiff or fabricated evidence against them, but also lied in court, it is not surprising that it awards a large sum of exemplary damages. In my experience as a barrister, juries are particularly incensed by the spectacle of officers who have acted in this way remaining in the force with no prospect of being disciplined even after their verdict.

I can well understand Sir Paul's reluctance to see his limited budget reduced further by awards of damages, but the surest remedy would be an effective complaints procedure. Until this exists, juries will continue to mark their disapproval of police misconduct in the only way they can. Patrick Roche, 14 Tooks Court, Cursitor Street, London EC4A 3JY.

To a degree

IAM astounded by the decision of Brunel University to give an honorary degree to Lady Thatcher (Letters, May 10). Students in the early eighties could expect to graduate with minimal debts, having enjoyed at least a minimum grant. In 1982 the Building Technology department of Brunel was closed as a direct result of cuts and departmental limitations for the early eighties. What has happened since that time to take the responsibility for the decline in tertiary education away from the administration of the day, or is there a 10-year statute of limitations for governmental mismanagement? M G Jacobs, (BSc Econ, Brunel), 15 Agamemnon Road, London NW6 1EJ.

A Country Diary

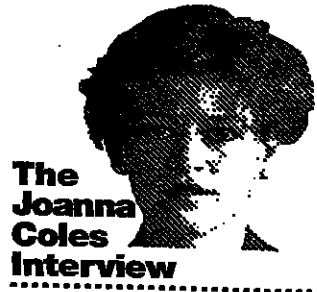
NORTH PEMBROKESHIRE: Everywhere plants are busting ahead to produce ever more flowers. Now is the time to remember banks of snowdrops, usually the first flowers of the year. The fore-runners, they can go without our noticing — we are going here and there in pursuit of the original daffodil, the small wild one. On May 1, 1871, Gerard Manley Hopkins observed: "The bright yellow corolla is seeded with very fine spangles which give it a glister and lie on a ribbing which makes it like cloth of gold." Next blackthorn and white blossom crowd around us. Hedges turn into super-bountiful white bubbles with sharp yellow cries from the within. Hawthorns will follow. Now the greater celandines are standing up in green clumps with surprisingly small and brief flowers soon to turn into strong catapulp ing seed pods. We camped for a week in Wiltshire. On the journey we passed fields which were growing simply dandelions, a celebration of yellow. We assumed it was set-aside land gathering its strength. The effect was voluptuous. Other fields had oil seed rape to throw a more lemony yellow astonishment over the scene. We camped on land belonging to an organic farmer. Dove foot geraniums were already in flower whilst the musk thistles are so common they have to be dug out. Their prickly rosette is the size of a large dinner plate. Next month will be tumbling in the breeze. Cowslips were abundant. One piece of disturbed chalk land near Avebury was crammed with young cowslips and salad burnet interspersed with beech seedlings fallen from a tall stand of majestic trees. Very young large red damselflies welcomed us home. Nymph cases cling to the leaves of irises and rushes. The youngest have lime green stripes on the thorax and a body of transparent plum. They appear and disappear like waifs. The swallows come, swooping over the water for a quick sip.

AUDREY INSCH

09/11/2015

Neil Simon is the most successful playwright in the world - the bard of what goes on behind the bedroom door

The lives and wives of a legend



The Joanna Coles Interview

NEL SIMON is an unusual interviewee in that he does not mind talking about himself. I mean really talking about himself. When I ask about the first of his four marriages, he does not raise a rich and pompous hand to declare that he never speaks about his family.

Indeed I cannot stop him talking about his family. About what went wrong with Joan (wife number one) and Marsha (wife number two) and Diane (confusingly wife number three and four).

"I asked Marsha [Marsha Mason, the actress and his second wife] to marry me two and a half weeks after I'd met her, that was three months after my first wife died." He shakes his head, still puzzled. "To this day that baffles me."

Then he announces that he wishes his wife, Diane, was with him for our interview, so she could tell me what she really thinks about him.

About the man who strolled into the Neiman Marcus department store in New York one day, where she was working behind the counter. As he got to the exit, laden with his Christmas purchases, he suddenly decided he couldn't face the future without seeing this particular shop assistant again. So he turned right around and went back and asked her for a date. She was a wannabe actress and he was the most performed playwright in the western world.

Heavens, this man is even frank about money. He has lost millions of the stuff. "Millions of dollars, yes," he nods. "I've gone into investments and lost a lot of money." What sort of investments?

"The sort of things investors told me to invest in, not things I'm interested in."

"I've been taken in a little bit, ripped off in a certain way, you know, they were overcharging me for things, because I never watched it carefully." He gives a hopeless, low-energy shrug and for a moment you can see why some fast-talking investment dealer might have thought Simon an Andre touch. He speaks gently and intensely. But he bears no sign of conspicuous consumption. In his pampas jumper and beige cords, he could almost be the sofa in his rented beige apartment at the Grosvenor House Hotel. He doesn't even own a

car, he leases one instead. What kind? "A small Mercedes." What model? "I don't know what model it is, you're sounding just like a policeman," he grumbles, hands in lap, his feet in Hush Puppies. "I never set out to make money. It just comes. Like some weird thing."

And comes and comes. Though he has lost millions, Simon has made millions more. He just can't seem to stop - something which still confuses him because he grew up in a poor Brooklyn home, where his father disappeared with alarming regularity and there was never enough money to pay the bills.

And now here he is, the only living playwright with a theatre named after him on Broadway. Though he may not be a household name, you will probably know the titles of some of his sweet-bitter works. Barefoot in the Park (the film starred Robert Redford and Jane Fonda), The Odd Couple, Plaza Suite, California Suite (for which Maggie Smith won an Oscar), They're Playing Our Song, Rumours, Lost in Yonkers, Brighton Beach Memoirs... In the last 29 years, he has written 24 plays and a score of screenplays.

'What interests me most about couples is knowing what they say to each other in the privacy of their own bed'

His building blocks are marriage and relationships - what makes them tick and too often based on his own experiences.

"What interests me most about couples," says Simon, "is knowing what they say to each other in the privacy of their bedroom. I'm not talking about sex. Sometimes I look at people and I think, I don't think they talk about anything. They just say 'Well, we have to see Harold tomorrow'. Or 'I'm going to play golf and I have to get the car fixed.' You have to wonder why they marry."

He was struck by this as he lay between the linen sheets in the guest room at the White House last December, after picking up a Kennedy Honour for lifetime achievement.

"I know the Clintons, we've met a few times now, and I don't know what they say to each other. I do think they talk though. This is not a couple who don't have things to say to each other."

Neil fell asleep before midnight, but his wife Diane snooped off down the Clinton

family corridor and found the President at his desk, still working. "They started talking and Hillary came in and they chatted about children. Bill wrote Diane a wonderful letter when her mother died."

"I watched him at the Kennedy Honours, and there were moments which were truly touching. A hundred homeless children had been taught to dance, and I looked over at Bill and he had tears in his eyes and it was genuine. Then the papers say they're mock tears. He's not that good an actor."

The Simons will both canvass in Hollywood for Clinton at the next election. But what do they think about Whitey? "Forget it. Let's talk about Jennifer Flowers. She was during the past not during his tenancy as the President. JFK was doing it constantly only the press didn't talk about it. But now," he says despairingly, "there's just so much gossip shows for all this stuff."

Simon himself has been the subject of much gossip, though as he puts a great deal of his own experience on stage he cannot complain too loudly. His entire life is out there, from his childhood and parents' divorce in the brilliant Brighton Beach Memoirs, to his adolescent army days in Biloxi Blues, his first marriage in Barefoot in the Park and his second marriage in Chapter Two, currently enjoying a revival in the West End with Tom Conti and Sharon Gless.

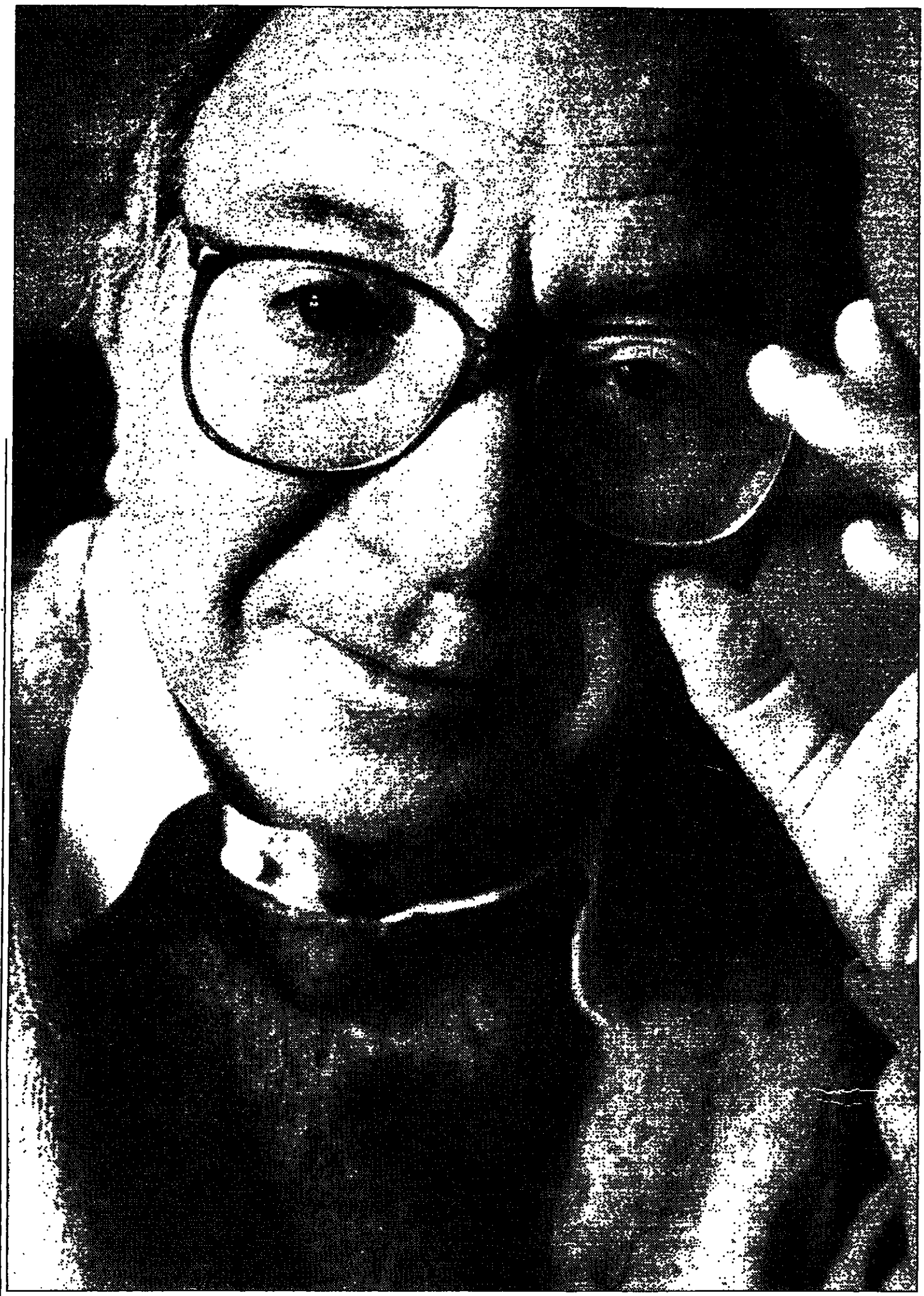
Chapter Two is a funny-sad comedy based on Simon's decision to marry Marsha Mason, soon after the death of his first wife Joan, from cancer.

Simon and Mason met on set. After two difficult years, dominated by Simon's guilt at his inability to forget Joan, they moved to California where Marsha was nominated for an Oscar for best actress. Then her career stopped.

Simon explains: "I stopped it, well no, we mutually stopped it, because she went to a therapist who said, 'If you want to make this marriage work you've got to bond with the family and be there for them.'"

Eventually, she started working again but "she had to get out from being Mrs Neil Simon. It was quite a burden for an actress." He falls. "We never really discussed that things were bad. She said, 'I'm going, maybe I'll be back, maybe I won't.' She wasn't. Though it lasted seven years, did he regret the end of the marriage? "A lot," he says. "I think she did too."

It took him a year to propose to wife number three. "I was afraid to get married again. I'd lost one to death and one to divorce. It's not that I thought I'd picked wrong, because each time I selected wonderful women. All three of them were very energetic, charismatic,



Never say nisi... 'I've never given up on a marriage. I've never walked out on any relationship in my life'

festive women; challenging, intelligent which means trouble some times. You know, this is not a pushover woman, I'm going to have to be on my toes all the time."

So what went wrong with number three? "It was Diane's decision. She needed space to deal with some things. I always hoped we would get back together again." They did. She swapped acting for journalism and after divorcing they promptly started dating again. A year later they remarried with a huge family ceremony at the couple's current home in Bel Air.

"I've never given up on a marriage. I've never walked

out on any relationship in my life," he says. Is that so he doesn't have to face any blame? "No, Marsha and I were equally to blame. The last time it was Diane's decision."

Though many of his plays feature marriage, he does not write about sex. Why not? "I write about it, but I don't write about it in marriages. In my opinion, I think sex is the greatest when you're in love with the person. It's extremely important. I don't think things get settled in the bedroom. But if sex doesn't work out then there's going to be a certain roaring around looking for it with someone else."

The thing about relation-

ships is you have to talk to each other. I mean really talk to each other.

For a funny man - and some of his plays are very funny - Simon does not laugh much. Today he stops at a wry grin which usually dissolves into an intense stare out of the window. He was once on the Johnny Carson Show. "The producer came up to me at half time and said 'Neil! Funnier!' I could have killed him. It's like saying 'sexier.'"

And with that he is off, on Concorde, back to New York.

Chapter Two's run at the Gielgud Theatre has now been extended to July 13

I confidently predict it'll never happen... unless it does

Alan Hansen got it badly wrong with the kids of Man Utd. VINCENT HANNA on the long line of soothsayers who have had to swallow their words

WELCOMED to the special day when wives grant temporary relief from football abuse, when the habitually sober have uncontrollable urges to drink beer from cans, make daft predictions and accost strangers with the words "Look, this will interest you... Have a nice Cup Final... I won't."

As usual mine will be ruined by Jane, Rachel, and David - but you didn't hear that from me. I am permitted only occasional glimpses at the match, due to their stupid obsession with rehearsing A Week in Politics. Oh you may laugh, but any social infraction on my part and they turn off the television.

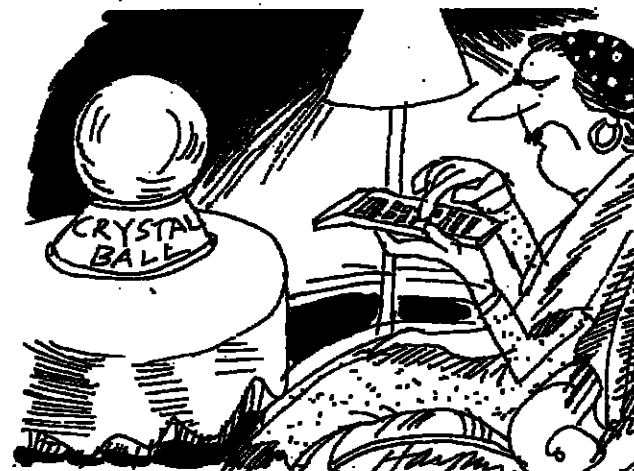
The papers have been picking on Alan Hansen for predicting last year that Manchester United couldn't win anything with kids - which they have. Don't blame him - in the same week the Manchester Eve-

ning News ran a poll calling for Alex Ferguson to depart. Alan had a long way to go before his dentedology becomes terminal.

So let us raise our beer cans to some legends of the genre. Like dear old Tommy Woodroffe (A Commander retired) who did football on the wireless in the 1930s. In the 1938 Cup Final he promised: "I'll eat my hat if a goal is scored." It was and he did.

Tommy is famous for his description of the 1937 Coronation Naval review at Spithead. "The fleet's lit up," he babbled (as indeed Tommy was himself). "It's... just fairyland... the whole fleet is in fairyland!" The BBC pulled the plug on him, and switched to the Carlton Hotel dance band. Something like that might work with Jimmy Hill.

And two cheers for the sports writer who watched the 17-year-old Stanley Matthews play. "Stanley Matthews lacks the big time



temperament," he wrote, "he will never hold down a regular first team place in big time soccer."

Talent of that calibre knows not the boundaries of time or space. Mayor Jean Drapeau of Montreal poured one billion dollars down the drain of the 1976 Olympics. On his political tombstone they engraved his prediction: "The Olympic Games can no more have a deficit than a man can have a baby."

Some of you will remember the moment in

1987 when Mystic Meg Thatcher told the Commons: "Anyone who thinks that the ANC is going to run South Africa is living in cloud cuckoo land." Fewer may recall the Duke of Edinburgh's remark in 1965: "The Beatles, they're on the wane."

But who among you is in a position to confirm Emperor (Les) Ferdinand of Austria's put-down of the young Mozart when he first heard the Marriage of Figaro: "Too noisy... far too many notes."

I said that?

You never win anything with kids - Alan Hansen

A woman rang in earlier and said there was a hurricane on the way. Well, there isn't - Weatherman Michael Fish

Go back to your constituents and prepare for government - David Steel at the Liberal Party conference in 1981

I bet he added: "You can never win anything with operas written by kids." Tell you what, I'll ask Des Lynam, he will remember. This happens to be a good day for tall tales. I know because my friend Hugo - an actuary who thinks that if we don't take our daily dose of silly statistics, we'll fly off the earth into the sun - phoned me up. "Look, this will interest you," he said - just like the other 20,000 nutters wandering all over SW10.

Anyway he told me that

today is the birthday of Jackie Milburn who scored the finest ever goal in a Wembley Cup Final. And on May 11, 1720, was born Baron von Munchhausen. Among his battier tales was a prediction that Liverpool would win today - he was run out of town for it.

But bow your heads for the King of British soothsayers, Lord Kelvin. He was a physicist who invented the second law of aerodynamics and was even more distinguished than Alan Hansen - no, I jest. While President of the Royal Society Lord Kelvin solemnly declared that:

- Radio has no future.
- Heavier-than-air flying machines would never get off the ground.
- X-rays will prove to be a hoax.

So enjoy today's game - even if I can't, and remember that predictions are harmless, unless attempted on Match of the Day. Or at the battle of Spotsylvania.

I refer of course to Major General "Uncle John" Sedgwick. He was an American civil war hero, who confronted rebel forces on May 9, 1864, with the immortal words: "They couldn't hit an elephant at that dist..."

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The British mock Eurovision. But in Norway and Sweden, where they take the song contest seriously, it has sparked a diplomatic war. ANDREW CULF reports

Nul points no more

FROM her functional sixth-floor office at Norway's Ministry of Culture, Ase Kleveland grapples with the future of public service broadcasting. But this elegant 46-year-old Norwegian equivalent of Virginia Bottomley is in the public spotlight because of something she did 30 years ago. "It got a lot of attention," confesses Kleveland. "Norway used to be a very conservative country — my grandmother thought I had brought shame on the family with my pink pyjamas."

no one has been able to kill it," she says. The grounds of the Folk Museum, 30-year-old Inger Elisabeth Solem, dressed in period costume in a timber-framed 1700s farmhouse, reveals how families gather for the contest, filling in charts in the local newspaper deciding on their own scores for the songs. "It's the show we Norwegians love to hate," she says. Everyone watches it for a good laugh because the songs are so bad.

Norway won itself a reputation as the Eurovision dunces in 1978 when, after a string of bad results, John Teigen scored an infamous nul points. But all that changed in 1985 when the duo Bobbysocks took Norway to victory in Gothenburg. The last time the UK won was in Dublin in 1981 with Bucks Fizz, helped by an energetic dance routine involving a partial striptease. Victory in 1985 restored Norway's pride. Paul Mork, leader of the Department of Public Affairs at the Folk Museum, says "It was thought it was impossible for Norway to win, but something that had been a joke became very serious. After victory in 1985 Bobbysocks became one of our important exports — we were exporting Norway to the rest of Europe." Again, Kleveland was propelled onto stage — the 1986 contest was staged in Bergen, and she was given the job of presenting it. "I had the honour of Norway on my shoulders. I felt I would have to emigrate if anything went wrong," she recalls.

When Secret Garden triumphed last year with Nocturne, ending a run of three successive Irish victories, Norway encountered the jealousy of its Scandinavian neighbours Sweden. Sweden did not give Norway any votes and Secret Garden's victory was followed by blanket xenophobic coverage in the Swedish newspapers. Eventually, Sweden's ambassador to Oslo made a public apology on behalf of his countrymen, conceding the victory had been deserved. Kleveland regarded victory as sweet. Norway, buoyed by the riches of North sea oil and gas, is enjoying unparalleled prosperity while Sweden is going through tough times. "It is a little hard for them to adjust to the fact that little brother is getting better off," she says. Norway will use next week to present itself as a modern industrial nation, in the biggest showcase since it hosted the



with 150 fellow Norwegian members of the Eurovision fan club, he will be watching preview tapes of all 23 songs for their own unofficial song contest. Later in the year they will stage another contest, voting on the songs placed second in each country's national heats. Hansen, a translator and law student, describes his bedroom as the sanctuary. It is more like a shrine to Eurovision. On shelves, neatly arranged in chronological order, are videos of all but two of the previous 40 contests, audio cassettes of most of Terry Wogan's 20 plus commentaries, most of the Norwegian national finals and an extensive archive of memorabilia, including the lyrics of all the songs.

He became hooked in 1974 when Abba won with Waterlooo... Abba (above) and Sweden were triumphant at Eurovision in the seventies, while Norway were busy scoring no points. However, all that changed in 1985 when Bobbysocks won. Now former entrant and Norway's current Minister of Culture Ase Kleveland (right) is co-presenting the contest.

test, renaming it Euro Song and by using £1.2 million virtual reality graphics for the hour-long climactic voting ritual. Stromstad was a risky choice for the job with his background in producing rock shows. He confesses: "I normally hate the music." Its main presenter, Morten Harket, the lead singer from the group A-Ha has similar reservations, but he'll be joined on stage by the sobering influence of NRK's Washington correspondent, Ingvild Bryn. Preparations almost went awry a fortnight ago when a hotel strike threatened Norway's ability to cope with an influx of 1,500 Eurovision delegates and hangers-on. But NRK was inundated with offers from Oslo residents to accommodate the singers, particularly the

UK's Australian-born Gina G. Her entry, O Ooh-Aah, Just A Little Bit, is among the fancied entrants, but so too is Norway, with the reappearance of Edvard (Stromstad, half of the former Bobbysocks). But even victory in the Eurovision is not an automatic passport to fame for a Norwegian. Last year's singer Gimmlid Trinnrem was back at work three days after victory, ironing costumes for the open air displays at the Folk Museum. Meanwhile John Teigen, the man who had 13 attempts to represent his country in the final, has launched a successful career as TV commentator on the back of his nul points.

'Norway was a conservative country — my grandma thought I had brought shame on her with my pink pyjamas'

Winter Olympics in Lillehammer two years ago. Kleveland says: "It is important to balance our traditional image and not just show us playing around in the mountains and believing in trolls. We are a modern state after 25 years as a hi-tech oil and gas nation." Less than a mile away in his immaculate central Oslo flat, Erling Hansen is keenly anticipating next weekend. Today,

Reviews

THEATRE

Nuremberg Tricycle, London

ACT in the theatre is always gripping, and Guardian journalist Richard Norton-Taylor's Nuremberg, an edited version of the War Crimes Trial, could hardly be more than that. As Dasha Tadic makes the stand at the Hague for crimes against humanity. But while Nicholas Kent at the Tricycle deserves credit for the idea — and for producing one of the best theatre programmes I've ever seen — he has somewhat over-egged the pudding by commissioning three short plays on Haiti, Rwanda and former Yugoslavia. Taken together, they make for an exhausting four-hour evening. Nuremberg is so strong it could stand on its own. What emerges, as the defendants go on trial, is the variety of moral evasions they offer. Goering, although Hitler's designated successor, denies all knowledge of systematic liquidation policies. Field-Marshal Keitel, chief of staff of the Wehrmacht, takes refuge in the doctrine of military obedience. Alfred Rosenberg, a Nazi ideologue, hides behind semantic quibbles over the absence of Ausrottung ("extermination"). Even on its own, Nuremberg raises a whole series of fascinating issues. By focusing on major war criminals, did the trial implicitly exonerate the whole bureaucracy of evil? Did the Allies sweep their own crimes under the carpet? And why has it

taken us 50 years to set up a comparable international court? These and other questions emerge from Norton-Taylor's skillfully-edited text and Kent's scrupulously realistic production: the confrontation of Colin Bruce's nervously sweating American prosecutor and Mark Penfold's coolly unfazed David Maxwell-Fyfe with Michael Cochrane's arrogantly imperious Goering is first-rate. William Hoyland's Keitel memorably crumbles when confronted with self-implicating documentary evidence. Ideally, Nuremberg would be followed by a mighty debate about the issues involved. Instead it is preceded by three short "responses" dealing with its contemporary implications. One of these, Goran Stefanovski's Ex-Yu about a woman seeking information about her father's suicide during the Balkan war, is genuinely haunting. Keith Reddin's Haiti also neatly dramatises the specific case of an American officer who was court-martialled for fraternising in character as a Haitian jailer. But Ferni Osofian's Reel, Rwanda does little more than recapitulate the appalling massacre of Tutsis and moderate Hutus. Four plays together are a bit much to absorb at one go. But Nuremberg is indispensable and the Tricycle deserves praise for airing one of the key issues of our time: how we respond judicially to the horrors of genocide. □ At the Tricycle, Kilburn (0171-328-1000) until June 8. Michael Billington

THEATRE

Edward II Bolton Octagon

THERE is not a red-hot poker to be seen in Laurence Till and Kate Raper's bold, impeccably acted, production that treats Marlowe's tragedy much more as a contemporary gay love story than as a history play. Edward (Raymond Coulthard) is killed not as a murderous Lighorn but by the ghost of Gaveston (Joseph Jones), who washes Edward's body and, in a final act of love, dispatches him with a kiss amid a shower of bloody rain. Such images are used to powerful effect in a production that respects the benefit of Es Devlin's striking tiled design — part gay bath-house and part abattoir.

There are more shocks in store for Marlowe purists. But the insertion of several Billie Holiday numbers, sung by Fathine Black (sometimes performing in character as Edward's spurned wife Isabella and sometimes outside the action), is not an act of vandalism but has real creative purpose. The song Heartache may be a little obvious for the loveless Isabella but a terrific rendering of Strange Fruit, as Gaveston gets the tar-and-feather treatment, underscores his outside status as a score a commoner and a gay. What the production lacks in sophistication it makes up for in accessibility. In a play where the giggle quotient can be high there was only rap attention during the schools matinee I attended. □ Until May 25. Box office: 01204 520681. Lyn Gardner

POP

Orbital De Montfort University, Leicester

DANCE music is the most innovative genre around, but Orbital are leaving that behind. Six years on from their rave smash Time, the Hartnolls' recent hit The Box was the most sinister record ever in the Top 20, a neo-symphonic soundtrack of creaks and twangs. The duo here presented a multimedia experience, an aural/visual sensurround of giant screens, airborne projections, dark sides of planets and pulsating beams and beats.

Images of clocks and metronomes emphasised the urgency of the melodies and a global sense of time running out; the word "uranium" appeared next to a human foetus, while elsewhere slogans such as "work" and "consume" provided gripping edutainment. But the music was writ large. Symphonic keyboard hooks crashed in like sun rays, breathtaking in their beauty. Just as it seemed that Orbital couldn't possibly take us further, they returned to their roots with a pulverising display of hi-energy techno. Utterly deserving of their standing ovation, Orbital are creating the soundtrack to a freer-thinking generation. Dave Simpson

Those (few and far between) great British Eurovision moments



Pearl Carr & Teddy Johnson (Sing Little Birdie), Wogan and Sonia (oh dear), Bucks Fizz (Making Your Mind Up), Cliff Richard (Congratulations), Gina G (O Ooh-Aah, Just A Little Bit)

Cheesy wotsits

Television

Stuart Jeffries

A FEW years ago there was a dreadful film about American perceptions of Europe called National Lampoon's European Vacation. In one scene, the vacationing family were watching TV in their London hotel room. As they flicked between the three channels, each one was screening a documentary about cheese. Thank heavens things have improved since then — after all,

we have one more terrestrial channel and cheese counter after cheese counter of cable and satellite stations. But Friday night programming still has as much to offer as that Monty Python cheese shop: "So you don't have any cheese, then." "Er, no." "Then I'm afraid I'm going to have to shoot you." From the offensive whiff of exploitative crime entertainments (999, Expert Witness, Crime Story) and the delicate aroma of full-fat horticulture (Gardeners' World, Garden Party), to the sickening fondue of state sitcoms, this is hard Cheddar for anyone who seeks nourishment. Or perhaps it's unfair to com-

plain about Friday evening schedules: after all there is Big Break. Just what viewers need after 5,000 hours of live snooker. It used to be different — there were once fine sitcoms, at least, which made Friday evenings worth staying in for. Cheers, Roseanne, Frasier, The Fast Show, the occasional episode of Ellen — hell, even Friends when it didn't involve the monkey. But now, there is so little of quality that the end of the excellent series of Father Ted (Channel 4) last night leaves us in pretty touch the same position as the alcoholic Father Jack. There he was, having

bailed out from the doomed airliner with the plane's two parachutes (one for him, one for the drinks trolley), only to wind up 30,000 feet below dangling by his chute in a tree, with the drink just out of reach. Like him, our spirits have plummeted on Fridays, and wound up dangling frustratingly, cursing our ill-luck and mouthing our demands: "Arsel! Feck! Cake! Girls! Drink!" It's perhaps not a coincidence that Father Ted has only been going for a handful of episodes, while the current series of Roseanne and Cybill (both Channel 4) have been going for 37 years and will in fact never end. This series of Roseanne has been one too far: last week's episode set in Disneyland seemed like a nice outing for the cast, but for no one else: this week,

about David being brain-washed when he joined the staff of a bunny theme park, continued the trend of lumbering, right-on humour of recent weeks. How sad that a team of such accomplished comic actors should be mixed in these dismal scripts. The first of a new series of Murder Most Horrid (BBC3) was called Girl Friday — perhaps Dawn French could bring some wit to this desert island of Friday nights. But no. Part of the problem was that she was playing an omniscient PA to Nigel Havers's omniscient boss, Nigel Havers. Goshie Withers, Jennifer Saunders — never trust someone with a verb for a surname. Like French, his acting was an drama and his punchlines hum drum. But this six-part series is supposed to be a vehicle for

French, in which, each week, she brings another character to life. Unfortunately, her comic skills chiefly consist in cutesy mugging which, when wedded to Paul Smith's unusable script, does not make for refined entertainment. She is as much a character actor as Roseanne or Cybill Shepherd, both actresses so nearly playing themselves as to make the difference between their real selves and their screen personas negligible. BBC could remedy its comedy-life status by returning The Larry Sanders Show and Seinfeld to Tuesday nights. Now the darts and snooker seasons are apparently over (do these things have seasons?), can we anticipate their return? Most likely, they're going to be postponed thanks to the looming Euro '96 football championships. Arsel! Feck!

'Awesome... the year's most must-see movie' THE KIDS A FILM BY LARRY CLARK 'BRILLIANT' Wake up your own mind 'MASTERPIECE' THE KIDS ARE ACROSS THE COUNTRY FROM 17 MAY

Mike Leigh's Secrets And Lies tipped for Palme D'Or Cannes 96 MIKE LEIGH says Gilles Jacob, head of the Cannes festival, must be a strong candidate for the Palme D'Or this year. Possibly the British director of Naked, for which he was made Best Director two years ago, could do without such prognostications. But there's no doubt that Secrets And Lies, his new film, is the kind of work no international jury could ignore. It is not a state-of-the-nation epic like Naked, but a more intimate family drama, though Leigh might well argue that the state of families is as fundamentally important as the condition of the nations of which they are made up. The film tells what happens when a black woman (Marianne Jean-Baptiste), who has lost her own parents, tries to find her real mother and, after much effort, discovers her to be a put-upon white woman (Brenda Blethyn) living with her boishie street-clemer daughter in a shabby terraced house in London. It's a profound shock for both of them. But this isn't so much a racial drama as an examination of the secrets and lies which inhibit the white woman's whole family — Timothy Spall plays the local photographer who represents the successful side, guiltily realising that he has neglected the woman who looked after him as a child. What happens when the black girl is introduced into the equation forms the core of the film. The performances are superb and Blethyn, in particular, must be among the favourites for the Best Actress award. But the confidence of the film-making, the warmth of its observation and the way it holds itself firmly on the edge of parody and something much profounder makes Secrets And Lies exceptional. True, it is a little too long at two hours 20 minutes, and the final declaration that we are all in pain but unable to share it with each other seems a bit too obvious. But you can ignore small flaws when someone produces a film that entertains so well yet still says so much that's important. Derek Malcolm

Jock traps

Radio

Anne Karpf

HOW often can a radio station change its tune? Well, Talk Radio, the ailing national station barely 15 months old, is already in its third incarnation. Launched on a swirl of hype about the shockiness of its jocks, phase one ended with the ignominious dispatch of at least two of them, Caesar the Geezer and Al Kelly, whose schtick (as every sane person had predicted) didn't make the audience stick. Phase two saw the excavation of a load of old jocks: Simon Bates, Jonathan King — as well as the recruitment of a touch of gravitas (Trevor McDonald), with the aim of taking on the BBC, head to head. No sooner hired than fired: another new programme director pushed them (or they jumped), bringing in a new bunch of presenters, including the current breakfast show host, Paul Ross, brother of Jonathan. Hearing Ross for the first time is disconcerting, since he sounds uncannily like his sibling — the same voice (replete with soft "r"), fast-talking style, film fanaticism. Ross's talent, one suspects, is for quick-thinking repartee, but he gets little chance to air it in this phone-in cum guest show. What he did display last week was toadyism on an intergalactic scale. His interview with Jeffrey Archer was so deferential that it makes him an early contender for Fawn of the Year. Archer was not only allowed to puff his "novelography" right down to the different prices at which it's selling but also to promote his own industry, life and political party without hindrance from Ross, until

a saucy caller questioned Archer's educational qualifications, in a second piercing the good Lord's jovial front and touching the less benign marrow within. Ross also conducted an interview with the leader of Newcastle City Council which was awesome in its boringness. I attended through it all pell-mell as though in pause for breath might admit great gusts of embarrassment as well. This is an example of a perfectly congenial chap promoted into the wrong slot at the wrong time. It's expected to improve Talk Radio's fortunes, God help them. Jazz FM has also reincarnated recently, even recovering its original name after a spell as JFM because its owners, Golden Rose, and their then chief executive, David Maker, believed that jazz was such a dirty word that its mere presence in the station's name would turn off hoards of listeners. In fact Jazz FM is doing — and sounding — better now, playing more jazz than it did before; after years as a surrogate soul station, you can today (not always, but usually) identify it on the dial by sound alone, unlike in the dark days where you needed to know the frequency or hear its jingle to know it was a so-disant jazz station. But I still think it needs to be a national and not a local station to serve the country's jazz enthusiasts. Viva also hopes to achieve an afterlife, through the medium of Mohamed Al-Fayed. An awful lot of guff has been expended to explain its demise, as if it signified another nail in the coffin of feminism. But as the few souls who ever managed to hear it can testify, Viva wasn't feminist in the least. Its initiators were desperate not to alienate men and in the process they cleverly managed to alienate everyone.

July 20 1996

Serge Chermayeff

Master of modernism

SERGE Chermayeff, who has died aged 85, was the last of the great modernist architects who practised in Britain in the 1930s.

His best known building is the beautiful and buoyant De La Warr Pavilion at Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex, designed in 1935 in partnership with Mendelsohn and recently restored.

At the time of the Bexhill Pavilion competition there were bitter attacks from within the profession that the winners were two emigre architects at a time when work for British architects was scarce.

and took British citizenship in 1928. Chermayeff's big break was the 1929 Modern Furnishing exhibition at Waring & Gillow in Oxford Street.

His magnificent Ruhlmann-style cabinet in mahogany and ebony dating from this period is in Brighton Art Gallery and Museum and there is a fine example of the art deco rugs he designed for the Wilton Royal Carpet Company in the V&A.

CHERMAYEFF described the 1930s as "the most rewarding period of my life." It was then he met Eric Gill, whose professional rigour and political iconoclasm influenced him deeply.

friendships with such contemporary British artists as Henry Moore, Barbara Hepworth, Ben Nicholson, John Piper and Eric Ravilious.

His first important official commission was for the new BBC building in London in 1932. Studios were designed by three modernist architects — Chermayeff, Coates and McGrath — inevitably known as "the three musketeers."

When Mendelsohn came to England in 1933, a refugee from the Nazi regime, he and Chermayeff became partners. The RIDA ruling that foreign architects could be employed but not employees resulted in

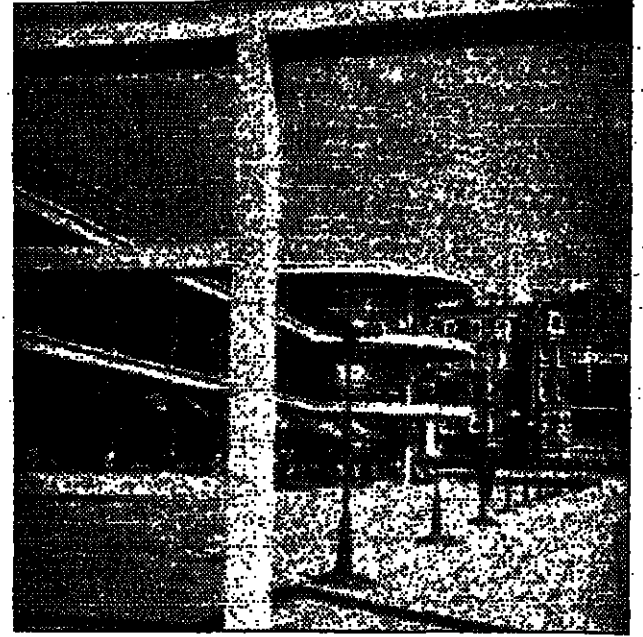


Serge Chermayeff... architect of movement and light

veloped his mature style. The most powerful influence was that of Eric Mendelsohn, German architect of the Einstein Tower in Potsdam and the Shokken department stores in Stuttgart and Chemnitz.

other such modernist pairings, the most notable of which was Gropius and Maxwell Fry. The Bexhill Pavilion bears the Mendelsohn imprimatur but claims that it was wholly Mendelsohn's are erroneous.

ture to the US Chermayeff designed laboratories for ICI at Blakely in Manchester and London offices for W & A Gilbey. He worked closely with the German emigre structural engineer Felix Samuely, evolving new solutions to industrial problems of noise abatement and air conditioning.



An edifice in concrete, glass and steel... the De La Warr Pavilion at Bexhill-on-Sea

person as "the most aristocratic building of the decade." This is a long low building, glass and timber, rising like a modernist temple from a pediment of brick.

HE DESIGNED some superb flats in that great age of the London flat dweller, including one in Mayfair for Dorothy and Leonard Elmhurst, founders of the arts educational community at Dartington and modernist connoisseurs.

In 1940 Chermayeff left London in great bitterness. His office had closed down for lack of work. He had been rejected when he attempted to enlist. At the outset of war he had been responsible for drawing up a Plan for Air Raid Precaution: A Practical Policy, and in a farewell article he drew the bleak conclusion that "little has been gained in our lifetime through technical ability or newly developed social conscience, for lack of opportunity to apply them intelligently, except possibly for the erection of shelters fit for heroes to survive in."

American citizen, the second time he had shed a skin. Chermayeff became professor of design at Brooklyn College in New York, and was then appointed resident and director of the Institute of Design in Chicago in succession to László Moholy-Nagy, another ex-Bauhaus emigré. In 1962 he moved to Harvard as professor of architecture after the retirement of Walter Gropius, and from 1962 he taught at Yale. Both his sons made their careers in American visual arts: Peter Chermayeff as an architect and Ivan Chermayeff as a graphic designer.

Serge Chermayeff was a charismatic if irascible teacher: an ex-student described him as "modernist in aesthetics, impeccably snobbish in dress and manners, radical or at least radical chic in politics." His closest modern counterpart is Richard Rogers, a student of his at Yale, who absorbed the professional arrogance and glamour. Chermayeff's views about the city and his definition of private, party private and overtly public spaces reverberate through Rogers's Reith lectures of 1964.

Serge Chermayeff, architect and designer, born October 8, 1910; died May 8, 1996

Harry Diamond

Firebrand at Stormont

THE DEATH of Harry Diamond, aged 87, breaks the last link with the generation of "Wee" Joe Devlin and the old Home Rule Party in the north of Ireland.

When Diamond was 21 he became one of the 34 members of the Poor Law Board, elected by ratepayers from local government wards.

Most of Diamond's colleagues were reviled figures in west Belfast's narrow, grimy streets. Paddy Devlin, who eventually took Diamond's Stormont seat from him, recalled that the guardians were "usually portly men with gold watchchains stretched across their ample bellies, spreading terror in the district."

in a moment of Protestant Catholic solidarity, 50,000 members of the working classes found common cause in their opposition to the Poor Law handouts and marched by torchlight through the city, led by bands from both green and orange traditions which repeatedly played Yes We Have No Bananas in case their traditional tunes gave offence.

It was this which converted Diamond to socialism. During the same period he was also a member of the Belfast Board of Guardians and once threw a doormat at its chairman. He spent two months in Crumlin Road jail after a police baton charge in the city's Smithfield Square had broken up a meeting protesting at the de-



Harry Diamond: outspoken

tenation without trial of 100 young republicans. Diamond was a shoemaker by trade, but in 1937 he found work as a fitter in England, staying for six years and becoming involved in trade unionism.

Back in Belfast he formed the Republican Labour Party with Gerry Fitz and was elected to Stormont in 1945 to represent Belfast Central (Lower Falls) — his idol Joe Devlin's former seat. His election coincided with a brief flourishing of the labour movement in Northern Ireland as a force which might challenge the Ulster Unionism's hegemony. "At the time we were described as two one-man parties joining up to make one two-man party," recalled Lord Fitz. Diamond represented his

constituency for the next 24 years, under a variety of guises including Eire Labour, Socialist Republican and Republican Labour. Although his strong republican and socialist views mellowed as he grew older, the silver-haired politician was thrown out of the Stormont chamber almost weekly for condemning the B-Specials police and for his repeated references to "foreign royalty".

By the late 1960s, as the unrest in Belfast began to grow, the young and ambitious Paddy Devlin had Diamond's constituency in his sights and cruelly put his rival down, accusing him of ignoring the new civil rights movement. In February 1969 he unseated Diamond by 726 votes. The historian Eamon Phoenix remembered Diamond with more kindness, describing him as the voice of Belfast's working-class Catholics in Stormont with "a much deserved reputation as an outspoken critic of the regime. He was a very charming man and a great raconteur."

On the day after his defeat Harry Diamond retired to his holiday house on the Antrim coast — and stayed there. "You could say I'm awaiting Gabriel's trumpet very pleasantly," he observed.

In 1982 — at the age of 83 — he remarried and is survived by his second wife, Amy.

David Sharrock

Harry Diamond, nationalist MP, born May 10, 1908; died May 7, 1996

Weekend Birthdays

Helena Kennedy, feminist, radical QC, campaigner and media star, was born 46 years ago tomorrow into a large Glasgow Irish Catholic working class family, and she's been demonstrating her gift of the gab ever since.



Kennedy lends her energies to a dazzling array of leftist and women's causes, while juggling a successful practice at the criminal bar and three children. She currently chairs Charter 88, the body campaigning for a new constitution for Britain. One of the few barristers of her generation to lack a university degree, she has made up for it by amassing a clutch of honorary doctorates, and the chancellorship of Oxford Brookes University.

Her outspoken criticism of some of the Bar's outmoded practices, its racism and sexism, could have made her enemies and harmed her career. Instead, the Bar has moved, introducing policies to outlaw discrimination. She has become a guru for young women lawyers, still battling to dent the glass ceiling. Friends are surprised that the lifelong Labour supporter and keen New Labour-ite has never sought a parliamentary seat. But she is widely tipped as one of the new peers Tony Blair plans to appoint to the House of Lords, to implement Labour's post-election reform of the upper House.

Today's birthdays: Lady Rachel Billington, writer, 54; Carla Bory Bley, jazz composer, bandleader, pianist, 58; Sir Rhodes Boyson MP, former Conservative minister, 71; Beryl Bryden, jazz singer, 78; Eric Burdon, rock star, 56; Sir Ernest Harrison, chairman, Rascal Electronics, 70; Deborah Hastings, bass guitarist, 37; Prof Antony Hewish, radio astronomer, 70; John Farrow, snooker player, 32; Jeremy Faxman, television presenter, 48; Sir Ian Percival QC, former Solicitor-General, 75; Ian Redpath, former cricketer, 55; Natasha Richardson, actress, 33; Mort Sahl, comedian, 69; Judith Wells, composer, 42; Monty Woodhouse, Hellmophille, author, former MP, Greek resistance organiser, 79.

Letter

David Singmaster writes: Piet Hein's Super Ellipse (obituary, May 4) was created to solve a real city planning problem — what kind of oval could be used in an aesthetically pleasing series of concentric circles in a city "square"? The result was actually used in the design of Sergel's Square, Stockholm, in 1950.

Hein was also the inventor of several puzzles and games which have already become classics, and are widely known and have been marketed in many versions. He invented the Soma Cube in 1936, supposedly while listening to a lecture on quantum physics by Werner Heisenberg, who mentioned space sliced into cubes. (The 540 different solutions were found in 1982, not by computer as often claimed, but by hand "one wet afternoon" by John Conway and Mike Guy at Cambridge.) Hein invented the game of

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Death Notices

HOLMES, Hilary (Katherine), Mother of Amanda, Eddie and Andy, daughter of Barbara, Carol Ann and David, On May 8th at The Freeman Hospital, Newcastle, after a long illness, aged 76 years. Burial at the North Shields Crematorium, Newcastle, on Monday May 13th at 2pm followed by a Requiem Mass at 10am. Family flowers only. Donations to the Alzheimer's Disease Society.

REED, Stanley William, On the 4th May 1996, Stanley William Reed, Director of the British Film Institute 1964-1972, much loved husband of Alicia, father of James, Penelope and Caroline and grandfather of James, Daniel, Simon and Hannah. Funeral will be held on Wednesday 15th May, Family flowers only. Donations if wished to the Alzheimer's Disease Society.

Place your announcement telephone 0171 713 4567. Fax 0171 713 4129.

Face to Faith

The enemy within us all

NEWS that a major City bank had hired a management consultant to introduce Japanese religious techniques intrigues me. One doesn't usually imagine banking and Zen Buddhism having much in common. This consultant had major corporations queuing up for his service to "uplift business performance and the human spirit."

Listening to Joynson, I was struck by parallels with Gloria Steinem's quixotic book, Revolution From Within. This was the feminist celebrity saying her political activism had been too simplistic in its assumptions that demos and marches would win women rights. What women needed was a kind of internal psychotherapeutic renaissance to build up self-esteem; the enemy wasn't out there but inside yourself.

What Steinem and Joynson both identified in very different arenas is the enormous issue of self-worth. This afflicts all of us in every aspect of our lives — how do we constitute a sense of our usefulness, our likeability, our irreplaceability? With the decline of Christianity, people no longer can turn to the concept of a loving, personal God and the uniqueness and sanctity of each individual life. This

leaves us with a vacuum into which people have placed three alternatives: their jobs, their relationships, and their imagination. Jobs: a precarious basis for something as important as your sense of self-worth, given an increasingly insecure labour market. Relationships: the divorce statistics speak for themselves, the fragile and continuous process of interpreting your life. What makes this mess virtually unbearable for most people are two cultural trends. First, we are subjected to a proliferation of ever more exacting expectations of ourselves in the media. Are you sexy? Are you thin? Do you have a great job? A great partner? Lots of friends? And on top of that comes the consumerism which incessantly implicates your incompleteness without this car, that sofa, holiday, home or insurance policy. Second, our culture is modelled on competitive living. But this pits us one against the other in the loneliest kind of individualism. Harness it to that proliferation of expectations, and in every area of our

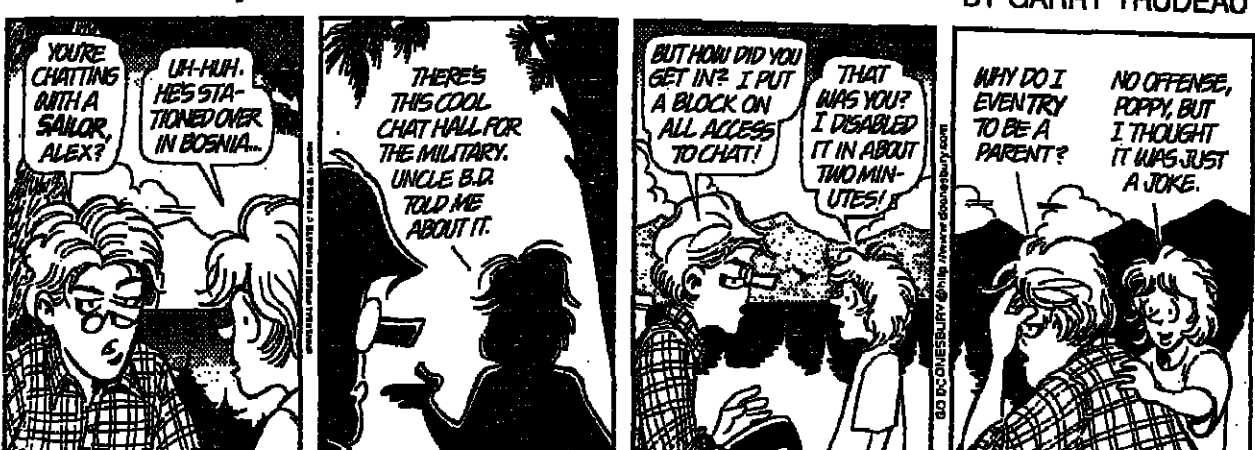
lives we are competing; are you thinner, happier, sexier than everyone else? We come to believe that self-worth is achieved at the denigration of everyone else. It is no surprise that millions of us flock to the therapist's couch, or that millions more just give up, ground

down into an apathy close to despair. Give people back their self-respect and they are quite literally born again. Peccan, a training project run by evangelical Christians for the unemployed in a depressed London borough, has an astonishing success rate (without converting them). Their

method, they maintain, is simple, treat people with real respect and love. I am brought back to one of the most striking points Joynson made. He referred to the play Pygmalion — the Greek version, not G B Shaw's. The drama is that a man loved a statue of a woman so much

that the gods had mercy on him and decided to make it into a real, live woman. His conclusion: "If you love them, they will love them into what you believe them to be." Madeleine Butting is the Guardian's religious affairs editor.

Doonesbury



BY GARRY TRUDEAU

Savers go for unit trusts

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Savers go for unit trusts

The prospect of a Tory election defeat no longer sends a chill through the City. IAN WYLIE looks ahead

New Labour, new Britain, new friends

Cashpoints

NATIONAL Savings has kicked off the new financial year with net receipts of £456 million, down from £706 million last month. The investors' favourite product was once again the Pensioners Bond which contributed £410 million net. Premium Bonds pulled in £164 million net.

THE unit trust sector seems to have made a dramatic recovery. The Association of Unit Trusts and Investment Funds (AUTIF) has announced record net sales to private investors of £2.01 billion for first quarter this year, up from £530 million this time last year. In March alone savers put £990 million in such Pepsale trusts. The association has produced a free guide to unit trusts and tax: call The Unit Trust Information Service on 0181-207-1361.

SPECIALIST information service Eurofax Communications has come up with a novel scheme which helps distressed borrowers whose houses have been repossessed to get the best possible price. Its Dial-a-Fax gives details about price and location on newly-repossessed homes direct from the lender. Prospective buyers get a menu of options enabling them to access lists of houses according to region and price. For details call 0396-423500. Charges are 89p per minute cheap rate and 49p per minute at other times.

BIRMINGHAM Midshires Building Society has raised the minimum deposit needed to open a savings account to £1,000 from £500. The society claims the move was thrust upon it by 50,000 savers who opened new accounts last April, in anticipation of the society merging or converting to a public company to trade as a bank.

THE NatWest has come up with a mortgage fixed at 7.99 per cent until May 1, 2002. For borrowers with the usual 5 per cent deposit, the Bradford & Bingley Building Society has a two-year fixed-rate mortgage at 5.25 per cent or a three-year deal fixed at 6.75 per cent.

A GENERAL election and a change of government — could come sooner than expected if John Major's one-vote majority disappears after next week's debate on the Government's handling of the beef crisis.

But, in contrast to the run-ups to previous general elections, a growing number of tax investment advisers are talking investors not to panic, as a Labour government might actually be good for their financial health.

If and when Labour does reveal more of its tax plans, there is unlikely to be a repeat of the "double whammy" that killed its hopes at the last election. Investors are also being warned to steer clear of scare-mongering advisers who simply want to "churn" portfolios to earn extra commission.

"It won't be the the doomsday scenario that many advisers are portraying," says David Oliver, tax partner with accountant Arthur Andersen. For all the hysteria whipped up in recent weeks, Labour has not, as yet, revealed any plan to increase income tax or capital gains tax for middle income earners, or to scrap Peps and Tessas. What it has said is that there will be no return to previous high-tax, high-spend policies.



You're laughing with Labour... Tony Blair and his merry men pose no threat to the City now

PHOTOGRAPH: MARTIN ARGLES

basis of knowledge, not hearsay."

A change in income tax rates is a racing certainty, but there may be less resistance to a raising of the top rate than Labour critics hope, and their spin-doctors fear. The current 40 per cent top rate of tax is low by the standard of most developed countries and tax advisers think a Labour government could raise it to 50 per cent without an electoral backlash. "Top earners are likely to see an increase in in-

come tax," says Moira Elms, "but we find that the vast majority of taxpayers do not resent income tax until it breaks the psychological barrier of 50 per cent."

Arthur Andersen's David Oliver believes Labour would introduce a more graded system of income, to lessen the severity of the jump from basic-rate to top-rate tax. Mr Oliver also thinks voters would sanction a top-rate tax of 60 per cent provided only the super-rich were targeted.

"Taxpayers worry not just about what tax they pay on current earnings, but also what tax they might pay on their future earnings," he says. "There's something emotive about six figures, so perhaps a 60 per cent top-rate tax on income over £100,000 might not be too upsetting to middle-income voters."

Labour remains opposed to John Major's intention to abolish both Inheritance Tax (IHT) and Capital Gains Tax (CGT) and is likely to close

some of the present loopholes. In particular, Labour is likely to stop the use of Potentially Exempt Transfers (PETs) which allow individuals to escape IHT liability on gifts made during their lifetime, provided that the transferor is still alive seven years after the date of the gift.

CGT reliefs such as retirement, holdover and reinvestment reliefs may also be withdrawn or modified. However, those holding long-term investments could benefit if

Labour goes ahead with plans to introduce a two-tier CGT system that would levy a lower rate for assets held longer. Investors can also expect other incentives to boost long-term savings. Last week, Labour's City spokesman Alisdair Darling added more flesh to the party's plans for a new savings vehicle — the Individual Savings Account — which would sit between Peps and Tessas.

With retirement and long-term care in mind, savers would be encour-

aged to lock away capital for a period longer than the current five years required by Peps. The success of Peps and Pops so far probably guarantees their future.

Tim Jones, a partner at accountants Binder Hamlyn, thinks a Labour government might give a boost to investors in National Savings, lifting the current £10,000 cap on deposits or "beefing up" Premium Bonds as an alternative to the Lottery. Mr Jones says Labour may be more imaginative in devising a pension scheme that allows private to combine private and state provisions for retirement.

HESAYS: "A Labour government might decide to ring-fence National Insurance contributions so that people are assured that whatever they pay in will go towards their retirement fund, not into the roads budget or defence spending."

The City has harboured the greatest reservations about Labour policies in the past, but even stockbrokers are becoming less bearish. According to Finsbury Asset Management, most of the fears about a Labour government will be discounted by election day. It is advising its clients that equities might actually benefit from a shift to the left. Finsbury points to recent experience in the US, where the Dow Jones index has risen nearly 70 per cent since Bill Clinton's election; the FTSE 100 has risen just over 30 per cent in the same period.

Why the self-employed need not fear Revenue bonanza

David Brodie

MOST taxpayers will know of self-assessment following an intense Inland Revenue advertising campaign and extensive media coverage. One "news" story recycled often enough to win an environmental award concerns an £850 million windfall expected by the Revenue in 1996/97. This will arise from extra payments by self-employed taxpayers. It was first revealed by the Treasury last November and has been the subject of much inaccurate comment. Historically, the self-

employed have been taxed on their earnings of the previous year, while they are now to be taxed on current year's income instead. This necessitates a change in 1996/97, when most people will be assessed on one-half of their profits for the two years ending in 1996/97.

If profits have been rising steadily, this will bring forward the date on which tax is due, which explains the Treasury's windfall. But "shock horror" stories suggesting that each sole trader faces a tax increase of £200 are very wide of the mark, since the extra revenue is partly attributable to greater num-

bers of self-employed workers, and many individuals will actually gain from the change.

Not everyone has enjoyed the luxury of rising profits. If your profits have been falling, you will benefit from paying tax on your current earnings rather than income of the previous year. And even if income has been rising, you may benefit from a change of accounting date if your business year-end has been early in the tax year.

Michael Jordan has been drawing up accounts to April 30 annually, and his recent earnings have been unusually high. He may benefit from deferring the end of his latest

accounting period from April 30, 1996, to 31 March 31, 1997. Under special rules, his tax for 1996/97 will be based on 12/36ths of his income for the 36 months covered by the two accounting periods running up to March 31, 1997.

This means that almost two-thirds of his current high earnings escape tax altogether. It should be stressed that these rules are complex and anyone considering such a change should obtain professional guidance.

A separate cash-flow advantage of self-assessment is that each instalment of tax falls a month later, on January 31 and July 31 each year. The Reve-

nue will be sending taxpayers details of the first bills towards the end of this year.

Complaints about the Inland Revenue are as old as tax itself, but not enough taxpayers realise the help available under the Taxpayer's Charter which promises a fair, helpful and efficient service, and offers compensation where tax offices have been guilty of serious errors or delay.

In many such cases, you will be entitled to a reimbursement for unnecessary costs, ranging from extra phone calls or postage needed to sort things out, to extra accountancy fees. And if you have lost earnings through the time

wasted, this may be compensated too.

But not all bureaucratic foul-ups involve such costs — although they may still cause a great deal of upset — and the Revenue has now extended the protection of the Charter to include payments for worry or distress. These may be made where serious tax office errors cause "a significant and unwarranted intrusion into your life", or there has been an unjustified delay exceeding two years. Most consoling payments will be £50 to £250, but sums of up to £1,000 and more will be paid in exceptional cases.

Quite separately, the Reve-

nue may waive tax arrears if it fails to notify you of them before the end of the tax year following that in which it received the necessary information, and where you might have reasonably believed that your affairs were in order.

Full details are given in the latest Code of Practice 1 — Mistakes by the Inland Revenue, available from all tax offices. And if your complaint itself is mishandled, there is compensation on offer for this as well.

David Brodie is director of TaxAid, a charity which provides free tax advice to individuals who cannot afford professional fees. Telephone 011-624-3768 between 9-11am weekdays.

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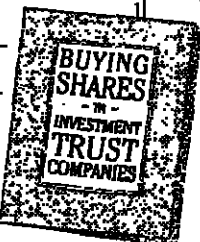
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DIY brewery's bargain beer puts Chancellor over a barrel

GREAT Stour Brewery in Canterbury, Kent, is proving a popular alternative to hopping across the Channel for buying beer without having to hand money to the Chancellor...



Subsidy fuels nuclear row

Simon Beavis Industrial Editor THE Government faced demands to abandon its nuclear power sale last night when it revealed a multi-billion pound package of measures to bolster the privatisation and a near-£4 billion grant for the closure of stations which would remain in the public sector...

was slipped out yesterday. Although some elements of the package were expected, the £3.8 billion grant for cleaning up ageing Magnox stations, which are not being privatised, had not.

sumers to pay the Magnox bill twice. In the City the view was that the new grant was an admission by the Government that it was going to get much less than its original £2.6 billion target for the sale of the industry...

had admitted that the taxpayer would be liable for up to £3.8 billion for Magnox stations, over £1 billion more than it originally hoped to raise from the sale of more modern advanced gas-cooled reactors and Sizewell B.

of the assets of British Energy, the company formed to take the most modern reactors into the private sector, in a move which will boost its profitability by an estimated £50 million and help to guarantee a dividend for investors.

his books at £3.7 billion instead of £7.8 billion. Mr Eggar said that the Magnox grant would be applied only when the new public-sector company, Magnox Electric, had used up its £3 billion budget, and any other income from sales of electricity and from the nuclear levy, the surcharge on all electricity bills which is set to expire soon.

Names get extra £1.2bn but fury at agents grows

Pauline Springett LLOYD'S of London yesterday increased the help it is offering to loss-stricken Names by £1.2 billion. The cash offer has been raised by £300 million to £3.1 billion and the cost of setting up the Equitas company to manage old claims has been cut by £500 million to £1 billion.

Since the original £2.8 billion cash and debt forgiveness offer was unveiled last year, Mr Rowland and his team have been working to secure additional contributions. These efforts have been partially successful, with both the brokers and the auditors promising to pay £100 million each. Lloyd's has also raised £270 million on the sale of assets including its Lime Street underwriting headquarters and its publishing arm.

Prepare now for euro, says Bank

Mark Milner European Business Editor THE City's financial markets need to plan now for the introduction of the single European currency, even if Britain subsequently exercises its right to opt out, the Bank of England said yesterday.

have the capacity to provide prices in and trade euro-denominated instruments, whether or not the UK is a participant in the euro area," says a paper written by John Townsend, the Bank's deputy director for market operations.

retail sector will have more time to prepare because changes would not need to be implemented until the introduction of euro notes and coins — some three years after the move to a single currency.

posed by the introduction of a single currency. The paper also makes it clear that there remain divisions in some areas about the need for changes, particularly over the provision of settlement facilities for securities denominated in euros if Britain opts out.

News in brief

Bondholders sue Barings board Directors of Barings Bank are being sued for £100 million by bondholders who lost their money when the merchant bank collapsed in 1995. Members of the Barings Perpetual Noteholders Action Group launched their long-threatened suit yesterday against Barings plc, its directors, and advisers, including Hoare Govett, Barclays de Zoete Wedd and Cazenove.

Stronger UK growth next year may delay poll

Sarah Ryle SIGNS that the economy is on course for stronger growth next year came yesterday with official figures showing a significant pick-up is due just before the deadline for the General Election. According to government forecasts, the economy will continue to be sluggish until the end of the year, but by May 1997 the growth rate should have been strengthening for four months.

Economic outlook

Index: long term trend = 100. The key forces behind the fourth consecutive monthly rise in the index were said to include short-term interest rates. The shorter-term forecast — which looks five months ahead and is regarded as being more volatile — has flattened out after rising throughout the third quarter of 1995. The ONS said that strong growth in share prices — which is one element of the series — was offset by decreasing expectations of new orders found in CBI surveys, and falling new car registrations between the last quarter of 1995 and the first three months of this year.

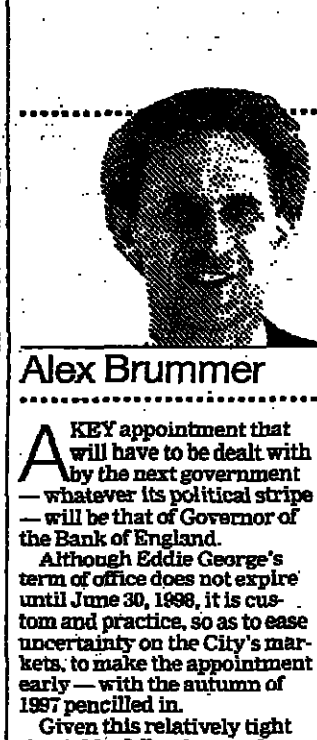
VAT refund bill may hit £500m

Dan Atkinson THE Government faces a £300 million bill for VAT refunds to companies involved in takeovers since 1973, accountants Binder Hamlyn said yesterday. The Appeal Court ruled that VAT should be reclaimable on the costs of taking over firms supplying VAT-rated goods and services. From the introduction of VAT in 1973, Customs and Excise believed acquisition costs should be treated as general business overheads. If the acquiring company were VAT-exempt, only a portion of the tax could be recovered.

Stoking bonfire of the banalities

Dan Atkinson on management gurus who reject all those theories except... bin with the lot of them, according to Neil Farmer and Bob Lankester. "It's a awful truth," they claim, "is only now dawning... Business change has up to now been a fashion industry with very high levels of false hope, bandwagon effects, dissatisfaction and failure." For those convinced that mediocre businessmen are easy prey to rapacious consultants expounding vapid theories, the best is yet to come: "Senior executives may have a limited knowledge of business design techniques and so become susceptible to business 'fashions', while the consultants often have a particular methodology and need to optimise their return on the duo we find: 'Identify and prioritise the main business objectives for change.'"

Getting ready for life after George



Alex Brummer KEY appointment that will have to be dealt with by the next government — whatever its political stripe — will be that of Governor of the Bank of England. Although Eddie George's term of office does not expire until June 30, 1996, it is custom and practice, so as to ease uncertainty on the City's markets, to make the appointment early — with the autumn of 1997 pencilled in.

eral Reserve that cost his presidency so much economic grief in the 1980 election. That may be a lesson which the ultra-cautious Gordon Brown, as Chancellor, will take with him in 1997, as he takes office. In fact there might even be a case, as with President Clinton and Alan Greenspan, to remove the post of central bank chief from the political agenda by doing the safe thing early: giving Mr. George his second term. That is a possible outcome which appears to have escaped the attention of Mr. George's potential successors. At present there are two front-running inside candidates, although Labour's senior hierarchy is making it plain it would like to see a wider. Early favourite would appear to be Deputy Governor Howard Davies, who has been developing a power base inside and outside the Bank. The nurturing of a regional economic intelligence service, as these findings will be published US "beige-book" style along with the Quarterly Inflation Report, gives Mr. Davies a handle on economic policymaking, the main prerogative of his internal rival Mervyn King. It is the latter's rigorous analysis of the monetarist economic policies that has helped to build the credibility of the Bank's post-ERM framework. Mr. Davies, whose career has been marked by a series of well timed moves, is also making a special effort to court future potential economic policy-makers in the Labour Party. He has been somewhat concerned, for instance, that somehow he managed to offend Gordon Brown.

Despite his considerable market skills, Mr. George had taken some of the flak over the Bank's handling of BCCI and perhaps more seriously, over errors in the engine room as the UK was bounced out of the exchange rate mechanism in September 1992. He would be a stop-gap governor while the UK system sought to produce its own intellectual high-flier in the initial shape of Rupert Pennant-Rea, who left soon after the Barings scandal in unedifying circumstances. Of course, the Governor would not view himself as a stop-gap, nor accept the Bank's culpability over BCCI or Barings. At one point he suggested that the Treasury Select Committee's pursuit of the Bank over Barings was a witchhunt. The Governor is of the view that his reasonably successful handling of the new monetary framework — including riding out a public dispute with the Chancellor over interest rates — has increased his own stature and that of the Bank. Like his predecessor, if asked, he would take on a second term.

AS a result, he is reliably understood to have been conducting his own reverse strategy of a cocktail offensive, reaching out to Gordon Brown, Alistair Darling and other policymakers. Announcements on changes in the Bank's organisation are sent to the parties concerned with accompanying notes and explanations, with Mr. Davies making sure that all factions are covered by distributing them reasonably liberally. This is, of course, an admirable means of keeping Labour apprised of changes at the Bank — which after all is what civil servants are expected to do in the run-up to elections.

Indeed, despite the disagreements with the Chancellor, who Mr. George believes struck lucky over his interest rate cut a year ago, the relationship between the two has been good. Should the Tories remain in power there is no reason to believe that Mr. George would be passed over if he desired a second term. Inflation, by all accounts, will be brought in within target and Mr. George's flirtations with Euroscepticism — he would probably prefer to call it reality — are a useful counterbalance to the Chancellor's own enthusiasms. Moreover, as the American experience has demonstrated it is often easier to reappoint a trusted governor (even if his policies are not yours) rather than cause grief on the financial markets. It was Jimmy Carter's carelessness over the post of chairman of the Fed-

Or a British official with achievements in the broader monetary stage such as Sir Nigel Wicks (who is more often mentioned as a possible managing director of the IMF) or former Bank director Andrew Crockett (now at the Bank for International Settlements) who has been seen, were it not for the UK's doubts on Europe, as in line for the European Central Bank — a far more powerful post. Among the uncertainties for any future Labour appointed governor, whether it is Eddie George, or someone else, is the still relatively undefined concept of a Monetary Policy Committee as proposed by Gordon Brown has called a "less personalised" system of monetary advice and policy making. Arguably this would make the post of governor considerably less attractive and much less of the bully-pulpit, which it has become for Mr. George. So maybe Labour will be looking for a new governor after all.

Chill in cloisters

In a monastery's jargon, business goes to pot, says Paul Nettleton THE commercial realities of recession and squeezed profits have intruded on the cloistered world of a Benedictine monastery which is being forced to sell its world famous pottery. Prinknash Pottery, founded 60 years ago by monks at the abbey in Cranham, Gloucestershire, was put up for sale yesterday in an attempt to prevent its closure and the loss of 30 jobs. News of the decision was contained in a release from Gravitas Public Relations. The black and gold wine

goblets and pewter-glazed ware were a staple line of the traditional "gift shops" which closed in droves during the recession of the 1980s. "We responded by increasing our overseas markets by 60 per cent, especially in the US, the Middle East and mainland Europe, but the price structure we have had to work with means margins have become very tight and we have been up against it for the past four or five years." Father Peter, prior and bursar of the abbey, said export turnover for the above year was some £200,000. "To continue to compete as we would, the business needs re-investment and more management time and as an active charity the community has neither the personnel nor the resources to fund the investment."

Table with columns for TOURIST RATES - BANK SELLS, listing rates for various countries like Australia, France, Italy, etc.

Handwritten signature or scribble at the bottom of the page.

Olivetti begins to ring the changes

De Benedetti delivers telecoms message to investors. JOHN GLOVER reports from Milan

PUFFING on a cigar in his 15th floor office in the Olivetti complex just outside Milan, 34-year-old Marco De Benedetti, son of Olivetti boss Carlo, is pondering about the effects on shareholder value of investing in the telecoms field.

"Take any of the range of values possible for our stake in [mobile phone operator] Omnitel and the implication is that the rest of Olivetti is not properly valued," he says.

"The fact is that the amount of money we put in was less than what it is worth at present. That means we are increasing value for our shareholders."

Like any good graduate of Wharton Business School who later worked in a New York investment bank, De Benedetti Jr acknowledges that the market is always right "by definition." Nevertheless, he argues, the market is ignoring the goodies Olivetti contains. One example: the £235 million at which the London Stock Exchange values Britain's Acorn Computer, in which Olivetti owns a 47 per cent stake.

Behind the cloud of cigar smoke, De Benedetti Jr is a slightly chubbier, less careworn version of his dad. Shareholder value is close to his heart — through a cascade of holding companies, the interests of the De Benedetti family are tightly bound up with the fate of Olivetti, a company hoping to escape the troubles besetting it through a move into telecoms.

Yesterday, at the group's headquarters in Ivrea, other Olivetti shareholders with their own worries about value faced management and blinked. Although one com-

pany representing US institutions had urged clients to vote against management, Carlo and his team persuaded shareholders that the PC business results — would break even in 1996, and kept their jobs for another year.

Olivetti's losses of more than 3.8 trillion lire (£1.8 billion) over the past five years, and the string of cash calls these have prompted, mean foreign investors now own about 70 per cent of its shares. For these investors, buying Olivetti is little more than a way of buying Omnitel-Prontel Italia, the consortium building Italy's second cellphone network, in which Olivetti is the main shareholder. The consensus is that, sometime around the end of the decade, OPI will begin to coin money.

Naturally enough, Olivetti's managers see the company as more than just a proxy for a cellphone network. As manage-



De Benedetti Jr: persuasive



Eurotunnel shareholders line up behind their champion

MARK MILNER on a new force behind the small investors

EUROTUNNEL shareholders are angry, especially in France. This week some 500 descended, by train of course, on the company's Calais headquarters to protest — pictured — at what they say could be a sell-out to the banks. But are enough of the company's estimated 700,000 small shareholders sufficiently concerned to be stirred into action?

The job of answering that question has been given to Sophie L'Hellias: founder, president and half the staff of Franklin Global Investor Services, a tiny corporate governance group.

From her cramped office in the Rue du Faubourg St Honoré, Ms L'Hellias is trying to pull the voting power of Eurotunnel's small shareholders into a bloc which can be wielded at shareholder meetings.

According to Ms L'Hellias, the exercise, with backing from Eurotunnel's small shareholder groups and a French financial magazine, is the biggest of its kind in French corporate history.

The aim is to collect enough proxy votes to give the small shareholders leverage — a favourably worded Ms L'Hellias — when the board eventually tables proposals for a deal with the banks over the company's £8 billion debt.

Outsiders may argue that small shareholders will have little choice but to accept whatever

deal is hammered out between banks and board, but Ms L'Hellias does not accept this view. "It is the shareholders who are the owners of the company, not the banks. They may be tomorrow, but not today," she says.

This summer's annual meeting will provide a dry run for the proxy scheme before the key meeting deciding the eventual but inevitable restructuring plan.

Ms L'Hellias brings formidable skills to her task. French-born, she was brought up in North America and has practised law in the US and France. "I'm 100 per cent from Brittany, but was raised with very Anglo-Saxon standards with respect to capitalism," she says.

She has an MBA business degree, and gained an insight into investment banking through a placement which was part of the course.

In Paris she has a growing reputation. "She's tough," said one French executive succinctly. But Ms L'Hellias looks for a less confrontational approach than the traditional French one she compares with the revolution of 1789 — "people taking to the streets, heads rolling".

Far better, Ms L'Hellias believes, to exercise leverage with discretion. In the case of Eurotunnel, that might prove tricky.

PHOTOGRAPH: DENIS CHARLET

Four Finns with a finger in every pie

Jon Henley in Helsinki

A POWERFUL network of interlocking directorships came under fire in Finland this week after it emerged that the country's commercial and industrial base is controlled by a tiny clique.

A study published in the Helsinki Sanomat newspaper shows that the same four men have boardroom seats at Nokia, the world's second-biggest mobile phone maker, UPM-Kymmene, Europe's largest forestry firm, Merita, Finland's dominant bank, and Pohjola and Sampo, its two major insurers.

According to Aino Jankkainen, the paper's financial editor, "Nokia and UPM-Kymmene represent 25 per cent of Finnish exports, the insurers control 70 to 80 per cent of their market, Merita has over half the corporate banking market — and the same club runs them all."

"The clique's members, all in

their fifties and sixties, include Nokia chairman Casimir Eirnooth, who also sits on the boards of Merita and UPM-Kymmene; Sampo president Jonko Lehtinen, a board member of Merita, Nokia and UPM; Iiro Viinanen, chairman of Pohjola and a board member of Merita, UPM and Nokia; and Merita president Vesa Vainio, a board member of Sampo, Nokia and UPM.

"The problem is these guys spend a lot of time in each other's company, they think the same way and they do each other's favours," said one Finnish economist, who asked not to be named.

"They want control. I'm sure that was behind the mergers that created UPM-Kymmene and Merita. It's not healthy to have such a small group effectively running half the economy."

The survey also revealed that, while the Finns boast more than a third of their MPs as women, only one woman has more than a single boardroom seat at a listed company.

Update

□ The European Commission is looking into complaints from three airlines that Air France is illegally using state subsidies to undercut fares on European routes, a spokeswoman for the transport commissioner, Neil Kinnock, said yesterday.

KLM has followed SAS and Lufthansa in lodging a formal complaint with the commission that Air France is breaking the terms imposed by the commission when it cleared 20 billion French francs (£2.5 billion) in government subsidies for the state-owned carrier.

If the commission finds that Air France is misusing the money, it can delay or block the final portion of the Air France aid due to be paid next month.

□ Investment, an investment company controlled by the Benetton family, has bought a 40 per cent stake in the Basic group, best known for its Kappa and Robi di Kappa sports and casual wear.

Fire fails to burn hole in French insurers' hopes

Mark Milner European Business Editor

WHILE the sight of Credit-Lyonnais' fire-damaged Parisian headquarters is still attracting the attention of passers-by, the building's insurers are counting the cost of the fire which swept the Second Empire edifice last Sunday.

But though the bill is likely to top 1 billion francs (£130 million) on some estimates, the setback is unlikely to cast too much of a shadow over the French insurance industry, not simply because a chunk of the risk was laid off with Swiss and German companies.

France's insurers, like their colleagues in the banking sector, have been hard hit by the collapse of property prices. But 1996 is likely to see better times, according to Dominique Bassy, director general at L'Union des Assurances de Paris which ran up losses of £270 million last year.

In France, profits from the non-life side should be good, while the life business has had a promising start to the year, as the low level of short-term interest rates has helped the insurance companies against competition from the banking sector.

The French government will be hoping Mr Bassy's assessment proves correct, and

Royal/Sun merger attracts much foreign interest

not just at UAF. It has just announced plans to sell its controlling stake in AGF and would doubtless be relieved to see a recovery in the sector.

But though the sale of the government stake in AGF, to say nothing of UAF's own announcement to float its UK subsidiary, is also an indication of the London stock market have attracted widespread attention,

one of the key events likely to shape the immediate outlook for the industry in Europe is the planned merger of British Sun Alliance and Royal Insurance.

"I think, to a certain extent, that will show the way to other kinds of mergers. Whether this will happen more in each market or whether we will have cross border mergers, I don't know," said Mr Bassy.

Denis Duverne, the director of international life business at AXA, another of France's big insurers, believes that the pace of consolidation within the UK insurance trade will accelerate as a result of the Royal/Sun move and that a number of European firms may be eyeing opportunities.

Mr Duverne said that while AXA was pleased by the performance of its UK subsidiary Equity and Law over the past five years it would still like to increase its share of the UK market. "Whether we do that organically or also by alliance or acquisition is dependent on the opportunities."

Continent gets Labour's drift

The party's on the Euro-stomp, says IAN TRAYNOR

WHILE the Government impales itself on the spikes of its European dilemmas, New Labour is travelling the Continent to sell the Euro-agenda of a Blair government and sound out the mood of the most powerful figures in the European debate.

Gordon Brown, the shadow chancellor, breezed through Bonn and Frankfurt this week with a speech on "New Labour and New Europe".

In Bonn he had a tête-à-tête with the powerful German finance minister, entertained the former economics minister Otto Lambdorff, then hopped on a train to Frankfurt for dinner with Hans Tietmeyer, head of the mighty Bundesbank. He also saw Alexandre Lamfalussy, self-deprecating chief of what is to become the European central bank, the European Monetary Institute.

The Labour charm offensive continues next week when Mr Brown goes to France, and Tony Blair visits Bonn next month to address the equivalent of the CBI.

The message is that New Labour is Euro-friendly and bent on "pro-competition and pro-investment" policies that further open up the single market; that old ideological rows about Thatcherite deregulation or traditionalist Labour regulation have become redundant; and that a Blair government would push an EU-reform agenda that wins it allies and takes Britain to the centre of the European debate.

"The idea is to explain our commitment to a people's Europe, to more competition,

to reform of the common agricultural policy, to more openness in telecommunications, energy and air travel," Mr Brown said. "All this is part of the agenda of an incoming Labour government."

On specifics of a single currency, Mr Brown is playing a waiting game. Despite Guardian poll evidence this week that two out of three Britons do not want the euro, and that the EMU scepticism of the Bank of England governor, Eddie George, seems to be growing, Mr Brown said Labour was in favour "in principle".

But he refused to be drawn on whether and when this might be converted into a practical commitment.

He copied that to the British debate on economic and monetary union meant there was little discussion of how a single currency would affect the City, financial services or inward investment.

Nor, he said, was there any debate on how the relationship between those inside and outside the single currency club was to be regulated.

Mr Brown appeared less than keen for Britain to rejoin a revamped exchange rate mechanism, and did not take kindly to suggestions that the putative European central bank could order a devaluation of a non-EMU pound.

Mr Waigel is increasingly preoccupied not so much with the criteria for admission to EMU as with keeping the club rules tight after a single currency is inaugurated.

Mr Brown echoed that concern. But privately he argued that there was little merit in a single currency that locked in uncompetitiveness or unemployment.

He said one of the first acts of a Labour government would be to sign the Maastricht treaty's social chapter.

Commission wants Brussels to set national tax levels by majority voting

John Palmer in Brussels

THE European Commission is relaunching its campaign for a concerted EU policy on tax as part of a deliberate strategy to shift the burden of taxation from employment to capital. The commission would like the Maastricht treaty review conference to agree to some key aspects of tax policy being decided in future by EU governments collectively — possibly by a special form of majority voting — rather than nationally.

The commission wants to see a new and more simplified system for collecting VAT as well as a new tax on energy consumption and a common withholding tax on invest-

ment income. The commissioner for taxation, Mario Monti, also believes there is a case for raising average VAT rates in order to cut social security taxes as part of a drive to cut unemployment throughout the EU.

There is growing acceptance by EU governments that more should be done to strengthen the economic underpinning for a single currency and to eliminate fiscal distortions of the single market. Although the British Government opposes any extension of majority voting to cover any aspect of tax policy, the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, sees the case for much closer co-ordination of tax policies by EU governments.

In a paper prepared for EU finance ministers, Mr Monti

says EU countries are losing tax revenue equal to almost 1 per cent of GDP because of competitive pressures on them to lower taxes on capital to attract international investment. He says capital liberalisation has "helped to erode the tax base in many countries" as well as increase opportunities for tax avoidance and evasion.

He says that, as taxes on mobile capital have fallen, the burden of paying for social security and other government policies has fallen directly on labour, pushing up the costs of creating jobs for more than 18 million unemployed in the 15 EU countries.

"Between 1980 and 1993 the implicit tax rate on employed labour for the EU as a whole grew by about 20 per cent,

while the same indicator for other factors of production — notably capital and the self-employed — fell by more than 10 per cent," he declares.

Mr Monti says governments are right to cut their budget deficits — in part to prepare for monetary union — but warns that "public expenditure cuts may contribute but are unlikely on their own to be able to fund a sufficient tax reduction on labour."

The choice for alternative funding includes VAT and excise duties, capital and real property taxation, as well as new or increased environmental or energy taxes.

The minimum level of tax on businesses and capital income should be harmonised, but not at levels which would drive investment out of the EU.

Russians derail trade project

JAMES MEEK finds a frontier row over new Great Silk Road

FEARS of competition for the Trans-Siberian Railway from a new "Great Silk Road" linking Europe and East Asia are holding up an ambitious UN-sponsored programme to promote trade in the frontier area where Russia's far east borders China and North Korea.

While these two countries, partners with Russia in the Tumen River Economic Development Area (Treda), are pushing ahead with free trade zones, customs legislation and investment promotion, Russia is dragging its feet.

Valentin Anikoyev, who is involved in planning the project, has accused directors of Russian ports such as Vladivostok and Vostochny, and railway chiefs of turning local officials against the scheme.

According to him, they fear the recently completed railway linking Duzhba in Kazakhstan to Urumqi in north-west China — the last part of the revived Silk Road — will be used to avoid the Trans-Siberian, and link Europe to Asia through a new Chinese port on the Tumen River.

The Russian Pacific Maritime Territory's controversial governor, Yevgeny Nazdratenko, seemed to have heeded Anikoyev's criticism when he spoke enthusiastically about Treda at a conference in

Japan in February. But last month, he again claimed that China was planning to build a huge port on the Tumen.

"This would lead to a sharp decrease in the geo-political significance of the Maritime Territory as a link between western Europe and the countries of the Asia Pacific Region, and our ports would be left without work," he insisted.

Critics of this view point out that the Great Silk Road railway leads not to the Treda area and the Sea of Japan but to southern and eastern China.

Besides, all the signs are that China is anxious to use Russian and North Korean ports not as a bridge between Europe and East Asia but to animate the slow economies of its poor north-eastern provinces.

Jack Helton, of the US cargo firm Sea-Land International, a 50 per cent partner in the Trans-Siberian's freight operation, said: "Because of bigger ships, I doubt that the Trans-Siberian land bridge will ever have the significance that it had in the past."

Meanwhile, there are signs of economic revival in Vladivostok, the only Pacific Rim city with a European Bank of Reconstruction and Development office, and in the port of Nakhodka, where Russia has made efforts to establish a free trade zone.

But it is hard to see how the region can prosper without a more benign legal climate for business and trade.

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Finance Guardian

They built the Mac. They hated men in suits. Then it went away. So they hired a new boss, and another, and then another. Will the nerds grow up in time? MARK TRAN in New York reports



'Cupertino, we have ourselves a little trouble'

WHEN Gilbert Amelio took to the podium set up at Caffe Macca to face 80 journalists in February, he was the picture of calm, the eye at the centre of the hurricane. "We have ourselves a little trouble now," he said, with some understatement. "The troubles are fixable. I've been down this road before. My mission is to make complex technology simple, accessible, delightful."

Mr Amelio, 55, won kudos for turning around National Semiconductor, although some wonder how much credit he deserves. One industry executive believes he was simply lucky, coming in when the chip industry was in an upswing. Be that as it may, Mr Amelio possesses the technical qualifications that both his predecessors lacked. He has 16 patents and a PhD in physics from the Georgia Institute of Technology.

He is very different from the traditional Apple creature. Maybe he is too grown-up. He co-wrote Profit from Experience: The National Semiconductor Story of Transformation Management. Writing in Rolling Stone, Jeff Goodell, a Mac fan, described it as reading like a "junior college course in corporate management theory, full of arcane charts and graphs and Hallmark-cardlike drivel."

Mr Amelio has been criticised for his generous compensation package of \$10 million (\$6.6 million) a year, with another \$10 million if Apple is sold during the next year. Many Apple employees thought it unseemly that Mr Amelio also found time to shop for a \$5 million estate in Lake Tahoe when he was sup-

posed to be developing a strategy to save the company.

Politically, Mr Amelio is out of tune with Apple, which prides itself on its progressive policies. It was one of the first companies to offer insurance benefits to same-sex partners. Mr Amelio belongs in the Republican camp, having hosted fundraisers for the likes of presidential hopeful Robert Dole and House Speaker Newt Gingrich. But his employees will overlook those ties as long as Mr Amelio succeeds in restoring Apple's fortunes.

So far he has impressed Wall Street by taking some tough decisions to trim Apple's workforce, laying off another 1,600 people, bringing total job cuts to 8,900. Apple employees accept this harsh medicine for a company that had grown beyond its means and feel relief that someone is making unpalatable decisions.

It is a familiar pattern. In the trauma of 1985, when he pushed aside Steve Jobs, John Sculley laid off a fifth of the workforce.

Clearly Mr Amelio hopes to get the worst out of the way early on. The approach has gone down well with customers. "I'm game to give Gil Amelio a chance," said Donald Montabana, director of the University of Pennsylvania's Computing Resource Centre.

One Wall Street analyst, Barry Bosak of Smith Barney, thinks Mr Amelio's managerial skills "could be an initial remedy in making the organisation functional again."

Apple has needed a CEO who can simply take a stand and not succumb to its own culture — meaning he can lead the organisation to some reasonable goals.

Net gain for a rotten Apple

APPLE Computer has lurched from crisis to crisis ever since it succeeded a generation with its user-friendly machines two decades ago to establish itself as an American icon.

Periodically, Apple tosses out its chief executive officer and ushers in a new saviour. In 1985, visionary co-founder Steve Jobs lost an epic battle to John Sculley, a former Pepsi executive. In 1993, Mr Sculley made way for Michael Spindler, a number cruncher who botched his forecasts. In February, Gilbert Amelio, formerly head of another Silicon Valley operation, chip maker National Semiconductor, became the latest white knight.

What a contrast to Apple's nemesis, Microsoft. Bill Gates has grown from a nerd into a formidable chief executive,

making the software giant a paragon of stability. Each time a new man steps into the breach at Apple, a familiar refrain goes up: "At last an adult is in charge."

But the company refuses to grow up. It is now paying the price for its immaturity.

Apple has been plagued by culture wars between its creative people and marketing and finance managers. Messrs Sculley and Spindler, appointed to instil managerial discipline, had their moments.

But they lacked the determination to push through tough decisions on issues such as licensing, which could have prevented Apple from sinking into the quagmire.

It was fine to cultivate a hip, anti-corporate image when Apple was an entrepreneurial outfit. The television advertisement shown during the

1984 Super Bowl crystallised the company's attitude. A woman athlete cartwheeled into a drab auditorium packed with corporate drones watching a figure on a big video screen. She hurled a hammer, smashing the screen. The ad lasted 60 seconds, cost \$1.6 million (\$1.05 million) and appeared once.

Apple headquarters in Cupertino, within sight of California's coastal mountains, consists of six buildings in a campus-like setting, including trimmings like the Caffe Macca staff restaurant. It is all designed to make employees feel special. There is nothing wrong in fostering pride and a sense of uniqueness, but the process has spun out of control and Apple is trapped in a consensus culture that hampers decisive management.

On the eve of Mr Amelio's much-awaited "big speech" on

Monday, Apple announced the latest glitch to hit its products. Some PowerPC models frequently freeze up during operation because of defective chips. The latest bug follows last summer's PR debacle when batteries in some laptops short-circuited and caught fire.

During his first 100 days, Mr Amelio has sketched out his vision for Apple, which he deems "fixable". He wants to simplify the product line (47 models in 1995), build on key markets and promote brand awareness.

Two-thirds of Apple's yearly revenue comes from low-margin products sold primarily to the home, small-business and education markets. The remaining third comes from sales of top-of-the-line computers like the 7500, 8500 and 9500, as well as most PowerBooks and servers

(powerful computers accessible on the Internet). These high-margin products are complex to design, difficult to build and require skilled dovetailing of software and hardware. Because Apple has to spread the profits from these machines over a product line covering low-margin items, innovation and product reliability have been eroded.

For years, Apple has been debating whether it is a hardware or a software company and its failure to resolve that question has contributed to its downfall.

Mr Gates knew his priorities. He was interested not in the boxes but in the brains inside the box. Apple wanted to do both boxes and brains and has been caught out. The possible solution, licensing out manufacturing, goes to the core of Apple's identity. Its efforts have been half-hearted,

attaching too many conditions in case licenses undercut Apple's own.

Apple users were encouraged by the latest deal with IBM, but the agreement on the Macintosh operating system falls short of "Big Blue" building Mac clones. Instead, IBM will sublicense the system to other, smaller computer makers.

Apple could attract some big names by handing over the \$3 billion Performa business, possibly even its name, to a licensee unburdened by expensive research and development, and still be assured a \$50 per unit licensing fee.

By moving less-profitable products to licensing partners, Apple could focus on what it does best — developing new technology, especially for the Internet.

The net, for which Apple

has several promising products, such as Cyberdog, a super-browser, and Flippin, a games machine with net applications, could be a godsend. It is a great leveller, where even mighty Microsoft must start from scratch. This is Apple's comeback chance.

Moving out of the hardware business will be tricky, but the potential rewards huge. Apple would become in effect the Microsoft of Macintosh. It is the opposite strategy to that pursued by Mr Spindler, who tried to increase the market share of Apple's cheaper computers, with disastrous results.

For Apple employees, the debate on licensing software sounds like a broken record. Mr Sculley made a half-hearted stab at change, but allowed Apple culture to stymie him. Mr Spindler believed it was too late to am-

brace licensing and puttered along until disastrous misreadings of consumer demand led to his demise.

Those yardward forecasts contributed to the latest quarterly loss of \$740 million, an Apple record. Apple suffered badly under Mr Spindler, nicknamed the Diesel, as droves of talent jumped ship. That the agony was allowed to drag on for so long must be blamed on Apple's notoriously hands-off board of directors and chairman Mike Markkula, who gave money to Steve Jobs and Steve Wozniak to help Apple get started. Mr Markkula only acted after a virtual shareholder revolt in January.

Apple has bounced back from adversity before. This time it is running out of time and money. Perhaps this is the crisis that will force Apple to mend its childish ways.

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Major makes the rules

Sarah Whitebloom

There is no point in paying attention to any verdict or judgment before the highest court in the UK, or even Brussels, that has a crack at the case.

That would seem to be the logic behind the Prime Minister's effective dismissal of the findings of John Magill, the district auditor who this week condemned Westminster councillors for running a homes-for-votes policy.

It is not just petty criminals who could now argue that they are not guilty until the House of Lords has said so. Coroners should put up or shut up. And the huge number of quasi-judicial authorities face a bleak future if John Major's reaction is applied to their rulings.

The implications for Whitehall are clear. There is no need to listen to the Parliamentary Ombuds-

man anymore. Like Mr Magill, he is only one man and what is his opinion worth? All the Barlow Clowes investors who were bailed out after he criticised the DTI should hand the money back forthwith.

The Trade Secretary should have told them that he would see them in court and let the Lords decide whether the investors were wise to entrust their cash to Peter Clowes.

For the business community, Mr Major's stance offers even greater scope. Rulings by the Monopolies Commission have always proved inconvenient. Now they can be safely ignored by firms until the courts have had their say.

It is certain that businesses like Kingfisher, the Woolworth owner, whose bid for rival Dixons was blocked by the MMC, will be happy to follow Mr Major's lead.

As for the Director General of Fair Trading, who is he to ban rogue estate agents and debt collectors? Why should companies put up with his interference in their price-rigging cartels? Banks are also looking at a substantial upside if they choose to apply the Major rules rather than the Bank of England's London rules. The Old Lady's eyebrows won't work as effectively on

a jury. The days of the Takeover Panel must also be numbered if companies take Mr Major's line and call for judicial reviews of its high-handed decisions.

But perhaps the closest parallel and the most appropriate way in which the new thinking can be applied is in respect of DTI investigation reports. Although this was possibly not his intention, Mr Major will have a lot of backers for his views among those who have fallen foul of company inspectors. From now on such opinions — although they have hitherto been issued with the Government's imprimatur — can be safely disregarded by all.

The Harveys owner, Mohamed Fayad, has long argued that he has suffered because of completely arbitrary comments by the House of Fraser inspectors.

Those individuals criticised in the County NatWest report into the Blue Arrow affair — and subsequently found not guilty in a court of law — will also be able to point to unstarbished reputations.

Mr Major's biggest fan, however, would have been the late Robert Maxwell, a prime example of what happens when everyone ignores the findings of impertinent individuals such as Mr Magill.

Quick Crossword No. 8123

Solution No. 8122

Across

- 1 Women's vade mecum (7)
- 8 Runner, jumper, etc (7)
- 9 Sleeping quarters (7)
- 10 British (7)
- 11 Flashlight (5)
- 13 All people (5)
- 15 Quack (5)
- 18 Male 14 or admiral (5)
- 21 Wrap around (7)
- 22 Bishop of Barchester (and wife) (7)
- 23 Impolite (7)
- 24 Just so (7)

Down

- 1 Custom or dress (5)
- 2 Bottom (5)
- 3 Philadelphia, literally (9,4)
- 4 Speculate (5)

5 The English way with Scotch? (5,3,4)
6 Central American country (5)
7 Miscellaneous, maybe musical (5)
12 Sweeney (4)
14 Bird — lower head! (4)
16 Money order (5)
16 Counsel (5)
17 Cause to fall headlong (5)
18 Check on account (5)
20 Adversary (5)

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Published by Guardian Newspapers Limited at 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3DF, and at 164 Deansgate, Manchester M60 2PR. Printed at the Guardian Press Centre, 2 Millharbour, London E14 6NG. West Fax: 0171 554 1255. West Fax: 0171 554 1255. at Trafford Park, Printers, Longbridge Road, Manchester M17 1B. Tel: 0161 275 2000. Advertisers: 0161-275-2000. 1, 5078 New-

Leipzig/Zepplendorf, Germany; Nord-Edel, 1521 rue du Centre, BP 99 - 90052 Foch, Cedex 1, France, for and on behalf of the Guardian and Manchester Evening News PLC, 46, 56, 66, Saturday, May 11, 1996.

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office ISSN 0951-307

London Telephone 0171-278-2332 Fax 0171-278-2348 Telex 891746 (Guard G) Cable 0171-278-2114; 1071-633-6342. Telephone 0171-611-9300

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